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LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

37

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1893 – 1922

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CONTENTS

Preface 21
M. I. ULYANOVA. Preface to *Letters to Relatives* (1930 Edition) 24
A. I. ULYANOVA-YELIZAROVA. Apropos of Lenin's Letters to Relatives 46

1893

1. TO HIS MOTHER. *October 5* 65
2. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *October* 67

1894

3. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *December 13* 68
4. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *December 24* 70

1895

5. TO HIS MOTHER. *May 14* 72
6. TO HIS MOTHER. *May 20* 73
7. TO HIS MOTHER. *June 8* 74
8. TO HIS MOTHER. *July 18* 75
9. TO HIS MOTHER. *August 10* 77
10. TO HIS MOTHER. *August 29* 78
11. TO HIS MOTHER. *September 7* 80
12. TO HIS MOTHER. *December 5* 81

1896

13. TO A. K. CHEBOTARYOVA. *January 2* 82
14. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *January 12* 85

15. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *January 14* 87
16. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *January 16* 89

1897

17. TO HIS MOTHER. *March 2* 91
18. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *March 10* 94
19. TO HIS MOTHER. *March 15 and 16* 95
20. TO HIS MOTHER. *March 26* 97
21. TO HIS MOTHER. *April 5* 99
22. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA. *April 17* 101
23. TO HIS MOTHER. *May 7* 105
24. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA. *May 18* 106
25. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA. *May 25* 111
26. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA. *June 8* 116
27. TO HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW MARK YELIZAROV. *June 15* . . . 118
28. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER MARIA. *July 19* 120
29. TO HIS MOTHER. *August 17* 123
30. TO HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW AND HIS SISTER MARIA. *September 7* 126
31. TO HIS MOTHER. *September 30* 128
32. TO HIS MOTHER. *October 12* 130
33. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER MARIA. *October 19* . . . 133
34. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTERS MARIA AND ANNA. *December 10* 135
35. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTERS MARIA AND ANNA. *December 21* 138
36. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER MARIA. *December 27* . . 141

1898

37. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW. *January 4* . . 143
38. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA. *January 24* . . . 146
39. TO HIS MOTHER. *February 7* 150
40. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW. *February 14* . . 155
41. TO HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW. *February 18* 158

42. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER MARIA. *February 24* . . . 160
43. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW. *March 1* . . . 163
44. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA. *March 8* 165
45. TO HIS MOTHER. *March 14* 167
46. TO HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW. *March 28* 169
47. TO HIS MOTHER. *May 10* 171
48. TO HIS MOTHER. *May 17* 173
49. TO HIS MOTHER. *June 7* 174
50. TO HIS MOTHER. *June 14* 176
51. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *July 15* 178
52. TO HIS MOTHER. *August 2* 181
53. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA. *August 16* 184
54. TO HIS MOTHER. *August 26* 186
55. TO HIS MOTHER. *September 16* 188
56. TO HIS MOTHER. *October 11* 190
57. TO HIS MOTHER. *November 1* 192
58. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *Written between November 7 and 11* . 193
59. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *November 11* 196
60. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA. *November 15* . . . 198
61. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA. *November 22* . . . 200
62. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS BROTHER. *November 28* 203
63. TO HIS MOTHER, HIS SISTER ANNA AND HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW. *December 6* 205
64. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA. *December 12* . . . 209
65. KRUPSKAYA AND LENIN TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *December 20* 212
66. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *December 22 and 28* 214
67. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA. *December 28* . . . 215

1899

68. TO HIS MOTHER. *January 3* 217
69. TO HIS MOTHER. *January 10* 218
70. TO HIS MOTHER. *January 17* 220
71. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *January 24* 222
72. TO HIS BROTHER. *January 26* 224

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73. TO HIS MOTHER. *January 30* 228
74. TO HIS MOTHER. *February 3* 230
75. TO HIS MOTHER. *February 7* 233
76. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *February 13* 235
77. TO HIS MOTHER. *February 21* 238
78. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA. *February 28* . . . 239
79. TO HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW. *February 28* 241
80. TO HIS MOTHER. *March 7* 243
81. KRUPSKAYA AND LENIN TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA. *March 7* 245
82. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA. *March 17* 247
83. KRUPSKAYA AND LENIN TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA *March 17* 250
84. TO HIS MOTHER. *March 21*. 252
85. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA. *April 4* 253
86. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA. *April 11* 256
87. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA. *May 1* 259
88. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA. *May 9* 262
89. TO HIS SISTER ANNA AND HIS MOTHER. *May 29 and 30* . 264
90. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS BROTHER. *June 20* 266
91. TO HIS MOTHER. *July 11* 269
92. TO HIS MOTHER. *August 1*. 270
93. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER MARIA. *August 7*. . . . 271
94. TO HIS MOTHER. *August 15* 273
95. TO HIS MOTHER. *August 22* 274
96. KRUPSKAYA AND LENIN TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA. *August 22*. 276
97. TO HIS MOTHER. *August 25* 279
98. TO HIS MOTHER. *September 1* 281
99. TO HIS MOTHER. *September 11* 283
100. TO HIS MOTHER. *October 17* 284

1900

101. KRUPSKAYA AND LENIN TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *January 19* 286
102. TO HIS MOTHER. *March 15*. 288

103. TO HIS MOTHER. *April 6* 289
104. TO HIS MOTHER. *April 26* 291
105. TO HIS MOTHER. *April 30* 292
106. TO HIS MOTHER. *May 5* 293
107. TO HIS MOTHER. *May 10* 295
108. TO HIS MOTHER. *May 18* 296
109. TO HIS MOTHER. *July 2* 297
110. TO HIS MOTHER. *August 31* 298
111. TO HIS MOTHER. *September 7* 299
112. TO HIS MOTHER. *September 19* 300
113. TO HIS MOTHER. *October 3* 302
114. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *November 6 and 7* 303
115. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *November 29* 305
116. TO HIS MOTHER. *December 6* 306
117. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *December 14* 308
118. TO HIS MOTHER. *December 26* 310

1901

119. TO HIS MOTHER. *January 1* 312
120. TO HIS MOTHER. *January 16* 313
121. TO HIS MOTHER. *January 27* 315
122. TO HIS MOTHER. *February 9* 317
123. TO HIS MOTHER. *February 20* 319
124. TO HIS MOTHER. *February 27* 321
125. TO HIS MOTHER. *March 2* 322
126. TO HIS MOTHER. *March 4* 323
127. TO HIS MOTHER. *May 19* 325
128. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *May 19* 327
129. TO HIS MOTHER. *June 7* 329
130. TO HIS MOTHER. *July 1* 331
131. TO HIS MOTHER. *July 17* 332
132. TO HIS MOTHER. *August 3* 333
133. TO HIS MOTHER. *September 1* 334
134. TO HIS MOTHER. *September 21* 336

1902

135. TO HIS MOTHER. *February 26* 338
136. TO HIS MOTHER. *March 24* 339
137. TO HIS MOTHER. *April 2* 341
138. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *April 10* 343
139. TO HIS MOTHER. May *8* 344
140. TO HIS MOTHER. *June 7*. 346
141. TO HIS MOTHER. *September 14* 348
142. TO HIS MOTHER. *September 27* 349
143. TO HIS MOTHER. *November 9* 350
144. TO HIS MOTHER. *December 17* 352
145. TO HIS MOTHER. *December 26* 354

1903

146. TO HIS MOTHER. *February 4* 355
147. TO HIS MOTHER. *February 22* 356
148. TO HIS MOTHER. *March 29* 358

1904

149. TO HIS MOTHER. *January 8* 359
150. TO HIS MOTHER. *January 20*. 360
151. KRUPSKAYA AND LENIN TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *July 2* . . . 361
152. TO HIS MOTHER. *July 7 or 8* 363
153. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER MARIA. *July 16* 364
154. TO HIS MOTHER. *August 28* 365

1907

155. LENIN AND KRUPSKAYA TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *June 27* . . 366
156. LENIN AND KRUPSKAYA TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA. *End of June* 368
157. TO HIS MOTHER. *October 15* 370

1908

158. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *January 14* 372
159. LENIN AND KRUPSKAYA TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *January 22* 374
160. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *February 7* 376
161. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *February 14* 378
162. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *February 17* 380
163. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *March 10* 382
164. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *Written between April 19 and 23* 383
165. TO HIS MOTHER. *June 20* 384
166. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *July 13* 386
167. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *August 9* 388
168. TO HIS MOTHER. *Summer* 389
169. TO HIS MOTHER. *September 30* 390
170. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *October 27* 392
171. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *November 8* 395
172. TO HIS MOTHER. *November 17* 396
173. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *November 26* 398
174. TO HIS MOTHER. *December 10* 400
175. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *December 19* 402
176. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *December 24* 404

1909

177. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *February 6* 406
178. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *February 16 or 17* 407
179. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *February 17* or *18* 408
180. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *February 23* 410
181. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *March 2* 412
182. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *March 9* 413
183. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *March 12* 415
184. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *March 21 and 22* 417
185. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *March 23 or 24* 419
186. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *March 26* 421
187. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *April 5* 422

188. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *April 6* 424
189. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *April 8* 426
190. TO HIS MOTHER. *May 21* 428
191. LENIN AND KRUPSKAYA TO LENIN'S SISTER ANNA. *May 26* 430
192. TO HIS BROTHER. *Late June-early July* 432
193. TO HIS MOTHER. *July 19* 434
194. TO HIS MOTHER. *August 24* 436
195. TO HIS MOTHER. *October 25* 438
196. TO HIS MOTHER. *November 4* 439
197. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *December 3 or 4* 440
198. TO HIS MOTHER. *December 7* or *8* 442
199. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *December 10 or 11* 443

1910

200. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *January 2* 445
201. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *Early January* 447
202. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *January 12* 448
203. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *January 30 or 31*. 449
204. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *February 1* 451
205. TO HIS BROTHER. *February 13* 452
206. TO HIS MOTHER. *February 13* 454
207. TO HIS BROTHER. *February 17* 455
208. TO HIS MOTHER. *April 10* 456
209. LENIN AND KRUPSKAYA TO LENIN'S SISTER ANNA. *May 2* 458
210. TO HIS MOTHER. *June 18* 460
211. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *June 18*. 461
212. TO HIS MOTHER. *July 1* 462
213. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *July 28* 463
214. TO HIS MOTHER. *September 4* 464

1911

215. TO HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW. *January 3*. 465
216. TO HIS MOTHER. *January 19* 467
217. TO HIS MOTHER. *April 8* 469

218. TO HIS MOTHER. *August 20* 470
219. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *August 20* 471
220. TO HIS MOTHER. *September 28* 472

1912

221. TO HIS MOTHER. *March 8 or 9* 473
222. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *March 24* 474
223. TO HIS MOTHER. *April 7* 475
224. TO HIS MOTHER. *May 27* 476
225. TO HIS MOTHER. *June 2* 477
226. TO HIS MOTHER. *July 1* 479
227. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *End of November* 481
228. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *Autumn* 482
229. TO HIS MOTHER. *December 21 or 22* 483
230. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *December 24* or *25* 485
231. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *December 28* 487

1913

232. TO HIS MOTHER. *January 3* 488
233. TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA. *February 24* . . 489
234. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *March 18* 491
*235. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *First half of April* 492
236. KRUPSKAYA AND LENIN TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *May 3* . . 493
237. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *May 12 or 13* 495
*238. KRUPSKAYA AND LENIN TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *May 25* . . 497
*239. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *June 18* 499
240. TO HIS MOTHER. *June 24* 500
241. TO HIS MOTHER. *June 28 or 29* 501
242. TO HIS MOTHER. *July 26* 502
243. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *November 12 or 13* 504
244. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *December 21* 506
245. KRUPSKAYA AND LENIN TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *December 26* 507

1914

*249. KRUPSKAYA AND LENIN TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *January 7* 509
247. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *February 11* 511

248. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *February 16* 513
249. TO HIS MOTHER. *February 21* 514
*250. KRUPSKAYA AND LENIN TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *March 16* 515
251. TO HIS MOTHER. *April 10* 517
252. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *April 22* 518
253. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *November 14* 520
254. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *December 22* 522

1915

255. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *February 9* 524
256. TO HIS MOTHER. *October 7* 526

1916

257. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *February 20* 528
258. TO HIS MOTHER. *March 12* 529
259. TO HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW. *September 20* 530
260. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *October 22* 531
261. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *November 26* 533

1917

262. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *February 15* 535
263. TO HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW. *February 18 or 19* 537
264. TELEGRAM TO HIS SISTERS MARIA AND ANNA. *April 2* . . 539
265. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *August* 540
266. TO HIS SISTER MARIA. *End of August-September* 541

1919

267. TELEGRAM TO HIS WIFE. *July 2* 542
268. TO HIS WIFE. *July 9* 543
269. TELEGRAM TO HIS WIFE. *July 10* 545
*270. TO HIS WIFE. *July 15* 546
*271. TO HIS SISTER MARIA AND HIS WIFE. *1919 or 1920* . . . 547

1921

*272. TO HIS SISTER MARIA 548

1922

*273. TO HIS SISTER ANNA. *End of 1922* 549
*274. TO HIS SISTER MARIA 550

APPENDICES

I. ENTRIES CONCERNING LETTERS FROM LENIN TO HIS RELATIVES (From the Files of the Moscow Gendarmerie) . . . 553
II. LETTERS WRITTEN BY NADEZHDA KRUPSKAYA 555

1898

1. TO LENIN'S MOTHER AND HIS SISTER MARIA. *February 15* . 555
2. TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA. *March 6* 557
3. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *May 10* 558
4. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *June 14* 559
5. TO LENIN'S SISTER ANNA. *August 9* 561
6. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *August 26* 562
7. TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA. *September 11* 563
8. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *September 27* 566
9. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *October 14* 569
10. TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA. *November 11* 571
11. TO LENIN'S SISTER ANNA. *November 22* 572

1899

12. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *January 10* 574
13. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *January 17* 576
14. TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA. *January 24* 576
*15. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *April 4* 578
16. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *June 20* 579
17. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *July 3* 581
18. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *October 17* 582

1900

19. TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA. *March 28* 583
20. TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA. *March 30* 585
21. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *July 26* 586
22. TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA. *July 26* 588
23. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *August 26* 589
24. TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA. *September 11* 590
25. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *October 1* 592
26. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *November 8* 594

27. TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA. *December 2* 595
28. TO LENIN'S MOTHER AND HIS SISTER MARIA. *December 22* 596

1901

29. TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA. *February 2* 598
30. TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA. *February 12* 600
31. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *June 11* 601
32. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *July 16* 602
33. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *August 2* 603

1902

34. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *September 27* 604

1903

*35. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *March 4*. 605

1904

36. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *January 15* 607

1909

37. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *Written in the twenties of December* 608

1910

*38. TO LENIN'S SISTER ANNA. *August 24* 609

1911

*39. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *August 26* 610
*40. TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA. *September 21* 611

1912

41. TO LENIN'S SISTER ANNA. *March 9* 612
42. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *May 27* 613

1913

43. TO LENIN'S MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA. *January 4* . . 614
44. TO LENIN'S MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA. *February 24* . 615
45. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *March 18* 615
*46. TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA. *April 10* 617

1914

*47. TO LENIN'S SISTER ANNA. *January 31* 618
48. TO LENIN'S SISTER ANNA. *February 11* 619
49. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *April 15* 621
50. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *June 8* 621

1915

51. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *September 24* 622
*52. TO LENIN'S MOTHER. *October 11* 623
53. TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA. *December 14* 624

1916

54. TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA. *February 8* 626
Notes 627
Index of Literary Works and Sources Quoted or Mentioned by V. I. Lenin 677
Index of Names 709

ILLUSTRATIONS

V. I. Lenin 1897 64-65
M. A. Ulyanova. 1898 72-73
The house in which Lenin lived during his exile in Shushenskoye 176-177
The first page of Lenin's letter to his mother, February 3, 1899 231
Dmitry Ulyanov. 1903 320-321
N. K. Krupskaya. 1903 360-361
The first page of Lenin's letter to his sister Anna, October 27, 1908 393
View of Rue Marie Rose (Paris). Lenin lived in House No. 4 from 1909 to 1912 448-449
Lenin's mother and sister Maria, 1913 488-489
The house in Poronin (Poland) in which Lenin lived in the Summer of 1913 and 1914 496-497
V. I. Lenin. October 1918 544-545
Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova. 1921 548-549

PREFACE

This volume contains 274 personal letters, telegrams and notes from Vladimir Ilyich Lenin to his relatives. They were written between 1893 and 1922, to his mother, Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova, his sisters, Anna and Maria, his brother, Dmitry, his brother-in-law, Mark Timofeyevich Yelizarov (husband of Anna Ulyanova), and his wife, Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya.

Many of these letters were published in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* for the years 1924, 1929 and 1930 and in *Lenin Miscellanies* Nos. III, XXIV, XXV, XXXV; separate editions of the *Letters to Relatives*, edited by Lenin's sisters, were published in 1930, 1931 and 1934.

The Preface to the 1930 edition by Maria Ulyanova and the article by Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova, "Apropos of Lenin's Letters to Relatives", which formed the preface to the 1931 and 1934 editions, discuss the content and significance of the letters; these two articles precede the letters in the present volume.

Lenin wrote to his mother and to other relatives at least once in every week or ten days. The longer intervals between letters in this volume show that a considerable number of letters have been lost. Most of Lenin's letters were written before the revolution, a time when his relatives were subjected to frequent house searches and arrests. Many of his letters fell into the hands of the secret police and bear traces of their examination—passages of interest to the police are underlined in red pencil, etc. Some of the letters seized during searches were not returned, some were found after the revolution in police dossiers; only odd pages of some letters have survived. Many letters were lost during

the First World War (1914-1917), when letters from abroad were subjected to a particularly strict scrutiny by the censors.

The periods best represented are the late nineties, when Lenin was writing his *Economic Studies and Essays* and *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*, and the years 1908-09 when he was preparing his *Materialism and Empirio-criticism*; in these years Lenin's letters concerned the despatch to him of the literature he needed, and contained instructions on how the books should be published and on correction of the proofs.

Almost all the letters are printed from the originals; in a few cases, however, they have been printed from copies in the files of the Police Department in the form (in full or as extracts) in which they were found there.

Eleven of the letters were published for the first time in the Fourth Russian Edition of the *Collected Works*, from which the translation of this volume has been made (these letters are marked with an asterisk in the table of contents).

In the letter to his mother dated July 1, 1912, Lenin mentions that he is moving from Paris to Krakow. This change of address was necessary to bring him closer to St. Petersburg, the centre of the working-class movement, so that he could improve contacts with *Pravda* and with the Bolshevik group in the Fourth Duma, and carry out the day-to-day work involved in his guidance of the Party organisations. In his letter of July 15, 1919, addressed to the propaganda boat *Krasnaya Zvezda*, Lenin informed his wife of the situation obtaining on the Eastern Front—the capture of Yekaterinburg (now Sverdlovsk)—and also of the great change then taking place in the South.

Among the items first published in the Fourth Edition are some brief notes addressed to his wife and to his sister Maria between 1919 and 1922.

Fifty-four letters addressed by Lenin's wife to his mother and sisters are given as an Appendix to this volume; these letters describe Lenin's way of life when he was in exile in Siberia and when he was living abroad and help to elucidate certain facts mentioned in Lenin's letters; eight of Krupskaya's letters were published for the first time in

the Fourth Russian Edition of the *Collected Works*. These are also marked with an asterisk in the table of contents, Letters written jointly by Lenin and his wife are contained in the body of the volume.

The items are arranged chronologically; letters posted in Russia are dated according to the Old Style, those from abroad according to the New Style; the editors have added dates at the end of undated letters. The source and destination of the letter and, where necessary, the date are indicated by the editors at the end of each letter; below this, information is given on where the letter was first published in Russian. It should be borne in mind that the note on printing given on the right of the page refers always to the Russian original, not to the translation.

The volume is furnished with a name index, a list of literature mentioned in the letters, and explanatory notes.

The illustrations include photographs of Lenin's relatives and some of the places where he lived. Facsimiles of two of Lenin's letters are also given.

PREFACE TO *LETTERS TO RELATIVES* (1930 EDITION)

The letters in this collection are addressed mainly to Lenin's mother, Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova, and to me* and cover the period from 1894 to 1917,** i.e., they begin from the first years of Lenin's revolutionary activities and continue up to his return to Russia after the February Revolution. It was in this period, almost a quarter of a century, that our Party emerged and took shape. Throughout this remarkable period of twenty-five years, Vladimir Ilyich stood at the head of the Party, guiding and nurturing it. His entire life was one of revolutionary struggle and his private life was part of that struggle, part of his labour on behalf of the cause of the proletariat.

We have a complete edition of Lenin's *Collected Works* and a fairly extensive literature on Leninism (works of

* What was in the letters, however, was usually intended for the whole family, or at least for those members who were living together at the time, "so as not to repeat myself", as Lenin put it.

** The collection does not include the correspondence between Lenin and his relatives during his period of exile (for which see *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* Nos. 2-3, 4, 5, 6 and 8 for 1929), or that of 1896, when he was in the remand prison in St. Petersburg (December 9, 1895 to January 29, 1897, O.S.) and was frequently visited by his mother and sisters, so that his personal correspondence with them was insignificant (see the article by A. I. Ulyanova-Yelizarova "Vladimir Ilyich in Prison" in *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 3 for 1924 and the two letters of Lenin written in 1896 that are appended to the article). Between November 1905 and December 1907, Lenin lived in St. Petersburg or in Finland, saw his relatives frequently and wrote to them rarely. There are also many letters addressed to his sister Anna and his mother, especially at the time when I was living abroad. These letters will be published separately. (All the letters indicated by Maria Ulyanova as being omitted from the 1930 collection have been incorporated in the present volume.—*Ed.*)

scientific research and popular writings) but Lenin the man, with his brilliant, all-round individuality, has been but little described or, rather, has scarcely been described at all.

The letters here offered to the reader *to some extent* fill this gap. They enable the reader to form *to some extent* a picture of Lenin's life, his habits, inclinations, attitude to people, etc. We say here "to some extent", mainly because the collection of letters to his relatives in this period is far from complete. During the frequent moves from town to town, the numerous house searches and arrests to which first one, then another member of our family was subjected, many of the letters fell into the hands of the police and were not returned* or were lost in some other way. There were also frequent cases of letters going astray in the post, especially during the imperialist war. For this reason one and the same question is repeated in a number of successive letters. These letters, furthermore, bear the imprint of police conditions in tsarist times. It is true that all our official correspondence (all communications concerning revolutionary events, party life, etc.) was conducted secretly, in invisible ink and usually in books and journals, sent through other, "clean" addresses.** Our personal lives were so closely bound up with revolutionary work that our legal, personal correspondence no doubt suffered badly and we cut it down because of police conditions. Vladimir Ilyich had good reason to write to me, when I was in exile in Vologda, that "as far as letter-writing is concerned—it is very difficult in our situation (in yours and mine especially) to carry on the correspondence one would like".***

This applied equally, to all our family and not only to me, because Vladimir Ilyich was not only a blood relation but was related to us by his views and convictions. All

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* In the Central Archives, for instance, we found extracts from six of Lenin's letters that had been placed in the files of the Moscow Gendarmerie as "material evidence". These extracts are published as an appendix to this volume (see pp. 553-54).—*Ed.*

** It was, of course, impossible to keep them in Russia and only a few have been preserved in copies made abroad.

*** Letter No. 252.—*Ed.*

the family (including Anna's husband, Mark Yelizarov) were at that time Social-Democrats, supported the revolutionary wing of the Party, took a greater or lesser part in revolutionary activities, were keenly interested in the life of the Party and were delighted at its successes and grieved by its failures. Even our mother, who was born in 1835 and who was over sixty at the end of the century, when house searches and arrests became particularly frequent, showed full sympathy for our revolutionary activities.

All the legal correspondence of revolutionaries was examined by the police and recourse had to be made to various hints, secret signs, etc., in some way to touch upon questions that interested us, confirm the receipt of some illegal letter, make enquiries about acquaintances and so on.

The reader will notice that letters sent by Vladimir Ilyich to his mother, sisters or brother contain scarcely any names, because the use of names might involve those mentioned in unpleasantness. It stands to reason that we had not the slightest desire to do anything that would, at best, make things unpleasant for someone. The names and surnames that do, on rare occasions, occur in Vladimir Ilyich's letters are those of comrades and friends whose connection with us was in any case known to the police owing to various circumstances (exile together on the same charge, attendance at the same educational establishment, etc.) or had to do with purely business matters (names of publishers, booksellers, etc.). To avoid mentioning the names of anybody living in more or less legal conditions about whom Vladimir Ilyich wanted to tell us something, to whom he wanted to send regards, etc., he made frequent use in his letters of nicknames and explanations connected with facts or events known to us. Vladimir Ilyich called Ivan Skvortsov-Stepanov, for instance, "the historian" (in view of his writings on history); at one time he carried on a lively correspondence with him through my sister and me.*

* Unfortunately only one letter from this correspondence has survived, the one dated December 16, 1909. See *Lenin's Works*, Second (Russian) Edition, Vol. XIV, pp. 212-16. (Two letters from the correspondence of Lenin and Skvortsov-Stepanov have survived—December 2 and 16, 1909. See *Collected Works*, Vol. 34, pp. 407-10 and Vol. 16, pp. 117-22.)—*Ed.*

When he sent greetings to V. V. Vorovsky, who was in exile in Vologda at the same time as I, Vladimir Ilyich wrote "Greetings to Polish friends, and I hope they help you in every way."* By "China traveller" he meant A. P. Sklyarenko, who was employed on the railway in Manchuria at the time, and "the gentleman we went boating with last year"** was V. A. Levitsky, etc.

The despatch of underground publications, secret correspondence, books containing letters in invisible ink, etc., had to be referred to in Aesopian language, etc.

At the end of December 1900 I gave G. B. Krasin, who was going abroad, the *Manifesto of the Party of Socialist-Revolutionaries* to take to Vladimir Ilyich; for purposes of secrecy I concealed it in an album of photographs. Vladimir Ilyich was very pleased with this package and wrote in a letter dated January 16, 1901, "many thanks to Manyasha for the books she sent, and especially for the unusually beautiful and interesting photographs from our cousin in Vienna; I should like to receive such gifts more often".***

Iskra and other underground publications were sent to Russia in envelopes to "clean", legal addresses. We also used these addresses to obtain literature for ourselves. Information concerning such packages was sometimes contained in legal letters to enable us to make enquiries of the addressee in good time. Information of this kind seems to be contained in Vladimir Ilyich's statement (letter of December 14, 1900), "I remember that I sent you the things that interested you on the ninth." And in her letter of February 8, 1916, Nadezhda Konstantinovna wrote, "Volodya was very pleased with your big letter. Perhaps you will write again."**** Since our legal letters were never exceptionally long and during the imperialist war, when this letter was written, we corresponded mainly by postcard, even registered postcards, and since many letters were lost in transit, the words quoted apparently refer to an illegal letter concealed in a book.

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* Letter No. 237.—*Ed.*
** Letters Nos. 114 and 130.—*Ed.*
*** Letter No. 120.—*Ed.*
**** Letter No. 117 and Krupskaya's Letter No. 54.—*Ed.*

When Vladimir Ilyich was first living abroad in 1900 and still did not know whether his stay would be more or less permanent, he did not give us his private address; when he was living in Switzerland or in Munich we wrote to him in Paris or Prague for reasons of secrecy. In his letter of March 2, 1901, for instance, he sent us his new address, adding "I have moved together with my landlord".* Franz Modráček, to whose address we sent our letters, actually did move at that time to a new apartment, but Vladimir Ilyich remained in Munich in the old one.

Characteristic of Vladimir Ilyich were his great punctuality and thoroughness and his strict economy in spending money, especially on himself. Vladimir Ilyich probably inherited these qualities from our mother, whom he resembled in many ways. Our mother was of German descent on her mother's side and these qualities were deeply ingrained in her character.

Vladimir Ilyich's carefulness with money and his frugality in spending it on himself can be seen from his letter of October 5, 1895.**

"I am now, for the first time in St. Petersburg, keeping a cash-book to see how much I actually spend. It turned out that for the month August 28 to September 27 I spent altogether 54 rubles 30 kopeks, not including payment for things (about 10 rubles) and expenses for a court case (also about 10 rubles) which I shall probably conduct. It is true that part of this 54 rubles was spent on things that do not have to be bought every month (galoshes, clothes, books, an abacus, etc.), but even discounting that (16 rubles), the expenditure is still excessive—38 rubles in a month. Obviously I have not been living carefully; in one month I have spent a ruble and 36 kopeks on the horse trams, for instance. When I get used to the place I shall probably spend less."

He really did live economically, especially when he was not earning anything and had recourse to "philanthropy",

* Letter No. 125.—*Ed.*

** The letter referred to is that of October 5, 1893 (Letter No. 1), —*Ed.*

as he called his mother's financial aid. He economised to such an extent that he did not even subscribe to *Russkiye Vedomosti** for himself when he was living in St. Petersburg in 1893, but read the paper in the Public Library when it was "two weeks old". "When I get a job here perhaps I will subscribe to it," he wrote to me.**

Vladimir Ilyich retained this trait all his life and it made itself felt, not only in Russia when he was not earning anything and when he was abroad and could not find a publisher for his literary works (one has only to recall that *The Agrarian Question* was lying about for ten whole years and saw the light of day only in 1917) and was thus in a critical position (see, for instance, his letter to Comrade Shlyapnikov of September 1916***), but also when he was materially well provided for, i.e., after the 1917 Revolution.

There was one thing, however, that Vladimir Ilyich found it difficult to economise on—books. He needed them for his work, so that he could keep himself up-to-date on foreign and Russian politics, economics, etc.

"To my great horror," he wrote in a letter to his mother, sent from Berlin August 29, 1895, "I see that I am again in financial 'difficulties'; the 'temptation' to buy books, etc., is so great that the devil alone knows where the money goes."**** Even in this, however, he tried to cut down, mainly by going to work in libraries, especially as they provided him with a quieter working atmosphere when he was abroad—there was none of the hubbub and endless, wearisome talk that was so typical of the exiles, who were bored by surroundings unusual and alien to them, and who liked to unburden themselves in conversation.

Vladimir Ilyich used libraries not only when he was living abroad but also in Russia. In a letter to his mother from St. Petersburg he wrote that he was satisfied with his new room, which was "not far from the centre (only some 15 minutes' walk from the library)".***** Passing through

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* At that time *Russkiye Vedomosti* was the most decent and interesting of all bourgeois papers.

** Letter No. 2.—*Ed.*

*** *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, p. 236.—*Ed.*

**** Letter No. 10.—*Ed.*

***** Letter No. 1.—*Ed.*

Moscow on his way to his place of exile he even made use of the few days he was in the city to work in the library of the Rumyantsev Museum. When he was living in Krasnoyarsk and had to await the start of the navigation season to continue his way to Minusinsk Uyezd, he worked in Yudin's library, and had to walk about 5 versts every day to do so.

During the period of banishment, when there was no possibility of using a library, Vladimir Ilyich tried to make up for this by asking us to arrange for library books to be sent him by post. A few experiments of this sort were made but too much time was wasted (about a month there and back) and library books were issued for a restricted period.

Vladimir Ilyich resorted to this method at a later date, too. In a letter to his sister Anna dated February 11, 1914,* he wrote: "With regard to the summaries of crime statistics for 1905-1908, I would ask you not to buy them (there is no need, they are expensive) but to get them from a library (either the Bar Council or the Duma Library) and send them for a month."

When he was living abroad Vladimir Ilyich also made constant use of libraries. In Berlin he worked in the Imperial Library. In Geneva there was his favourite "club" (Société de lecture), where he had to become a member and pay certain dues—very small ones, to be sure—in order to work in the "club's" library. In Paris he worked in the Bibliothéque nationale, although he complained that it was "badly organised"; in London he worked in the British Museum. And only when he was living in Munich did he complain that "there is no library here"; in Krakow, too, he made but little use of the library. In his letter to me of April 22, 1914 he wrote that "here (in Krakow.—*M.U.*) the library is a bad one and extremely inconvenient, although I scarcely ever have to go there...." His work for the newspaper (*Pravda*), all sorts of dealings with comrades, who came to Krakow in greater numbers than to France or Switzerland, his guidance of the activities of the Social-Democratic group in the Duma, Party conferences and meetings, etc.,

* The letter has been lost and the extract quoted here has been taken from the files of the Police Department (see Letter No. 247).—*Ed.*

required so much effort that there was little time left for scientific studies. Even then, however, Vladimir Ilyich "often thought of Geneva, where work went better, the library was convenient, and life was less nerve-racking and time-wasting".*

After his arrest in Galicia at the beginning of the imperialist war Vladimir Ilyich again went to Switzerland; from there he wrote "the libraries here are good, and I have made quite decent arrangements as far as the use of books is concerned. It is even pleasant to read after my daily newspaper work".** Later he went with his wife from Berne to Zurich in order, among other things, "to work in the libraries here" (continuing, however, the same intensive Party political work, as his correspondence in that period with Comrades Karpinsky and Ravich, just published in *Lenin Miscellany XI*, clearly illustrates***) which, according to him, were "much better than those in Berne". But although Vladimir Ilyich was better off abroad as regards the reading of foreign books, journals and newspapers—he visited libraries for this purpose—the shortage of Russian books made itself sharply felt. "I can easily get German books here, there is no shortage of them. But there is a shortage of Russian books," he wrote in a letter dated April 2, 1902.**** "I see very few new books", he wrote on April 6, 1900. There is no doubt that Vladimir Ilyich's work was greatly hampered by his frequently not having the necessary book to hand when he lived abroad. This is why his letters to his relatives frequently contained requests for certain books that he needed for his work (statistics, books on the agrarian question, on philosophy, etc.) and also new publications, journals and fiction. And again, it is possible to judge, *to some extent*, what branches of knowledge he was interested in and needed literature about at any given time, and for which writings he used them.

Among this literature considerable attention was paid to various statistical returns.

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* Letter No. 252.—*Ed.*

** Letter No. 254.—*Ed.*

*** Part of this correspondence was included in the *Collected Works*, Vol. 36.—*Ed.*

**** Letter No. 37.—*Ed.*

From his works, and from the rough copies, notes and calculations that preceded those works we see clearly what great importance Vladimir Ilyich attached to statistics, to "precise facts, indisputable facts".* His unfinished and as yet unpublished article "Statistics and Sociology" by P. Piryuchev (a new pen-name that Vladimir Ilyich adopted to facilitate the publication of this work) is typical in this respect; it is devoted to the question of "the role and significance of national movements, the relationship between the national and the international".**

The following passage is from this article: "The most widely used, and most fallacious, method in the realm of social phenomena is to tear out *individual* minor facts and juggle with examples. Selecting chance examples presents no difficulty at all, but is of no value, or of purely negative value, for in each individual case everything hinges on the historically concrete situation. Facts, if we take them in their *totality*, in their *interconnection*, are not only stubborn things, but undoubtedly proof-bearing things. Minor facts, if taken out of their totality, out of their interconnection, if they are arbitrarily selected and torn out of context, are merely things for juggling with, or even worse.... We must seek to build a reliable foundation of precise and indisputable facts that can be set against any of the 'general' or 'example-based' arguments now so grossly misused in certain countries. And if it is to be a real foundation, we must take not individual facts, but the *sum total* of facts, without *a single* exception, relating to the question under discussion. Otherwise there will be the inevitable, and fully justified, suspicion that the facts were selected or compiled arbitrarily, that instead of historical phenomena being presented in objective interconnection and interdependence and treated as a whole, we are presenting a 'subjective' concoction to justify what might prove to be a dirty business. This does happen ... and more often than one might think."***

In 1902, Vladimir Ilyich asked for "*all* the statistics****

* *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 272.—*Ed.*
** *Ibid.*, p. 271.—*Ed.*
*** *Ibid.*, pp. 272-73.—*Ed.*
**** These statistics which Vladimir Ilyich used for his book *The*

from among the books he had had with him in Siberia, to be sent to him abroad, for, as he said in a letter dated April 2, 1902, "I am beginning to miss these things". Later, in order to get statistical material from various towns and to get it more regularly, Vladimir Ilyich wrote a special appeal* to statisticians participating in the Congress of Doctors and Naturalists (there was a sub-section for statisticians at this congress) held in Moscow in the winter of 1909. A number of provincial statisticians responded and in a letter dated January 2, 1910, Vladimir Ilyich wrote, "I have also received a letter about statistics from Ryazan—it is splendid that I shall probably be getting help from many people."**

In 1908, when Vladimir Ilyich was working on his *Materialism and Empirio-criticism*, he ordered a book by Professor Chelpanov about Avenarius and his school, the book *Immanent Philosophy* and others. He wrote to me about this work of his, "I have been doing a lot of work on the Machists and I think I have sorted out all their inexpressible vulgarities (and those of 'empirio-monism' as well)."***

When Vladimir Ilyich inquired whether his manuscript about the latest form of capitalism (*Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*)**** had been received he wrote, "I regard this work on economics as being of exceptionally great importance and would especially like to see it in print in full" (letter of October 22, 1916).***** As we know, this wish was not fulfilled (although Vladimir Ilyich "did his utmost to adapt himself to the 'restrictions'", as he wrote in a letter to M. N. Pokrovsky on July 2, 1916);****** Vladimir Ilyich's work underwent a large number of changes and many

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Development of Capitalism in Russia, together with other books of his, were returned from abroad in 1929, and by the extracts he made and the marginal notes in the books it will be possible to draw a number of valuable conclusions on the way he worked. (Some of this material was published in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIII* in 1940.—*Ed.*)

* For the publication of this letter we are once again indebted to the Moscow Gendarmerie, who kept it in their files.

** Letter No. 200.—*Ed.*

*** Letter No. 166.—*Ed.*

**** *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, pp. 185-304.—*Ed.*

***** Letter No. 260.—*Ed.*

****** *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, p. 227.—*Ed.*

cuts were made, and only ten years later was it published in its original form.

From Vladimir Ilyich's letters to his relatives we see in what connection he set about writing his (as yet unpublished) article "The Capitalist System of Modern Agriculture".* In a letter dated October 22, 1916, he wrote to me, "You write that the publisher wants to put out *The Agrarian Question* as a book and not as a pamphlet. I understand that to mean that I must send him the continuation (i.e., in addition to what I have written about America I must write what I have promised about Germany). I will start on this as soon as I have finished what I have to write to cover the advance received from the old publisher."** The manuscript of this work, which is now in the possession of the Institute, is unfinished; apparently the revolution "hindered" Vladimir Ilyich and he could not finish it.

The letters here presented to the reader give something of a picture of the conditions under which Vladimir Ilyich carried on his literary work, and also of those trials he had to undergo to publish the results of that work. I am referring here to what he published legally. Vladimir Ilyich worked in unfavourable conditions throughout the entire pre-revolutionary period (with the exception of the period of the first revolution and the *Zvezda* and *Pravda* period—1912-14—when he was able to contribute to the legal press and when we had, for a short time, at least, our own legal publishers); this was while he was abroad and experienced, for instance, a great shortage of Russian books and other material needed for his work.

Censorship conditions also created considerable difficulty; Vladimir Ilyich's articles were cut and distorted (like his article "Uncritical Criticism", for instance) or were confiscated (*The Agrarian Question*, Vol. II), and so on and so forth. Great difficulties were also caused by lack of contact with Russia, because of which it was frequently impossible to establish direct communications with publishers, etc. Typical of the situation are his frequent attempts to obtain work for Granat's Encyclopaedic Dictionary. "I would like

* *Collected Works*, Vol. 16, pp. 423-46.—*Ed.*
** Letter No. 260.—*Ed.*

to get some work for the Encyclopaedic Dictionary," he wrote to me in his letter of December 22, 1914, "but it is probably not easy to arrange unless you have an opportunity to meet the secretary of the editorial board."* Vladimir Ilyich had no such opportunity, and when he applied directly to the Granat office he either received no answer at all, or received one only after a considerable delay. "Is it possible to obtain some more work for the Encyclopaedic Dictionary?" he wrote to me in 1915. "I have written to the secretary about this but he has not answered me."** "In this place, unfortunately, I am cut off from all contact with publishers," he wrote in 1912.***

If it had not been for the great help from comrades and relatives in seeking publishers, reading the proofs of his works, etc., there would have been even greater difficulties in getting his writings published. But we, his sisters and brother, were not always in a position to help him in these matters, especially when we were in prison or in exile. In 1904, for instance, he asked mother to give him the address of Anna's husband, Mark Timofeyevich, for whom he had some "literary business" (letter of January 20, 1904).****

Vladimir Ilyich, however, not only had the ability to work systematically, persistently and fruitfully, he also had the ability to rest—when the opportunity offered. For him the best form of rest was out in the open, close to nature and away from people. "Here (in Stjernsund in Finland, where he was resting after returning "terribly tired" from the Fifth Party Congress.—*M.U.*) you can have a wonderful rest, swimming, walking, no people and no work. No people and no work—that is the best thing for me."***** He enjoyed a really excellent rest there, where Lidiya Mikhailovna Knipovich surrounded him with

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* Letter No. 254.—*Ed.*

** Letter No. 255. As regards replies from publishers at this time, things were no better in other houses for Vladimir Ilyich. With reference to this see Letter No. 3 (dated November 27, 1901) from Lenin to L. I. Axelrod, published in *Lenin Miscellany XI*, p. 326 (*Collected Works*, Vol. 36, p. 100).—*Ed.*

*** Letter No. 230.—*Ed.*

**** Letter No. 150.—*Ed.*

***** Letter No. 155.—*Ed.*

exceptional care and attention, and he recalled it in a letter to me when I had just got over a bad attack of enteric fever. "Now would be the time to send you to Stjernsund," he wrote.*

Vladimir Ilyich was extremely fond of nature and in his letters one constantly comes across references to the beauties of nature, no matter where he happens to be. "The scenery here is splendid, I am enjoying it all the time. The Alps began immediately after the little German station I wrote to you from; then came the lakes and I could not tear myself away from the window of the railway carriage," he wrote to mother when he was on his way to Switzerland in 1895. And again he wrote to mother, "I take walks—walking is not at all bad here at present and, it seems, there are plenty of nice places in Pskov (and also in its environs)." From abroad he wrote, "I saw Anyuta a few days ago, took a trip on a very beautiful lake with her and enjoyed the wonderful views and the good weather." "A few days ago I had a wonderful outing to Salève with Nadya and a friend. Down below in Geneva it was all mist and gloom, but up on the mountain (about 4,000 feet above sea level) there was glorious sunshine, snow, tobogganing—altogether a good Russian winter's day. And at the foot of the mountain—*la mer du brouillard*, a veritable sea of mist and clouds, concealing everything except the mountains jutting up through it, and only the highest at that. Even little Salève (nearly 3,000 feet) was wrapped in mist." "Nadya and I have travelled and walked round a great deal of the surrounding country and have found some very nice places," we read in a letter dated September 27, 1902. Vladimir Ilyich was probably right when he wrote, "We are the only people among the comrades here who are exploring *every bit* of the surrounding country. We discover various 'rural' paths, we know all the places nearby and intend to go further afield."**

If they were unable to get out of town for the summer and drop straight into "rural life" ("we get up early and go to bed almost with the roosters"),*** Vladimir Ilyich

* Letter No. 164.—*Ed.*
** Letters Nos. 6, 103, 110, 149, 142, 148.—*Ed.*
*** Letter No. 237.—*Ed.*

and Nadezhda Konstantinovna, when they were living in Switzerland, sometimes went walking in the mountains. There is a description of one such journey in a letter Nadezhda Konstantinovna wrote to my mother on July 2, 1904. "It is already a week since we got away from Geneva and are now resting in the full sense of the word. We have left our work and our worries in Geneva and here we sleep ten hours a day, and go swimming and walking—Volodya does not even read the newspapers properly; we took a minimum of books with us, and even those we are sending back to Geneva tomorrow, unread, while we ourselves shall don our rucksacks at four in the morning and set out for a two weeks' walking tour in the mountains. We shall go to Interlaken and from there to Lucerne. We are reading Baedeker and planning our journey carefully.... Volodya and I have made an agreement not to talk about our work—work, he says, is not a bear and will not escape to the woods—not even to mention it, and, as far as possible, not to think about it."*

Such journeys, however, were rare and were undertaken only when work and the factional squabbling had had too bad an effect on health and on nerves, as was the case in the winter of 1903-04 after the Second Party Congress and the split. As a rule, if Vladimir Ilyich went to the country for the summer, he continued his work there, whenever it was possible, after a few days' complete rest. If it was impossible to get out of town, or if such trips were too short, they made excursions to the country, sometimes to the mountains, on foot or on their bicycles, usually on Sundays. "Quite unintentionally we are taking to foreign ways and arrange our outings on Sundays of all days, though that is the worst time because everywhere is crowded," Lenin wrote in a letter to his mother (March 29, 1903).** On such outings they usually took sandwiches with them instead of having lunch and set off for the whole day. No wonder Vladimir Ilyich and Nadezhda Konstantinovna belonged to the "excursionist" party while other comrades formed the "cinemist" party (those who liked the cinema), as they jokingly called themselves.

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* Letter No. 151.—*Ed.*
** Letter No. 148.—*Ed.*

Vladimir Ilyich was, indeed, not very fond of the different amusements in which other comrades found relaxation after hard work. I do not think he ever went to the cinema, especially when he was living abroad, and he visited theatres only on rare occasions. He went to see *The Weavers* when he was in Berlin on his first trip abroad, and he went to the theatre when he was living abroad in exile, mostly, however, when he was living there "somewhat alone" (i.e., without his family), or when he happened to be in a big city on business after a period of intensive work and he took advantage of the trip to "snap out of himself". The theatres abroad gave Vladimir Ilyich little satisfaction (at times he and Nadezhda Konstantinovna left the theatre after the first act, on which occasions their comrades jokingly accused them of wasting money), and of the plays he saw in the later period, only *The Living Corpse* created an impression on him. He liked the Moscow Art Theatre very much, however; he had been there with Lalayants ("Columbus") before he went abroad, when he was staying in Moscow, and in a letter to his mother in February 1901 he said that "he still remembers with pleasure" that visit to the theatre. But what we would like would be to visit the Russian Art Theatre and see *The Lower Depths*,"* we read in his letter of February 4, 1903. He did not manage to see *The Lower Depths* until many years later, when he was living in Moscow after the revolution.

His visits to concerts were also relatively rare, although he loved music. "We recently went to our first concert this winter", we read in the same letter, "and were very pleased with it—especially Chaikovsky's latest symphony (*Symphonie pathétique*)." "I was at the opera a few days ago and heard *La Juive* with the greatest pleasure; I had heard it once in Kazan (when Zakrzhevsky sang)—that must be thirteen years ago, and some of the tunes have remained in my memory," he wrote to mother on February 9, 1901.** Afterwards he often whistled those tunes (he had his own peculiar way of whistling through his teeth). Later, during his life abroad, Vladimir Ilyich rarely visited concerts or ope-

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* Letter No. 146.—*Ed.*
** Letter No. 122.—*Ed.*

ras. Music had too powerful an effect on his nerves, and when they were upset, as was often the case in the turmoil of life among the émigrés abroad, it affected him badly. Vladimir Ilyich was always very busy and his budget was a modest one and this had its effect on his secluded (as far as amusements were concerned) way of life.

Vladimir Ilyich paid relatively little attention to the various sights: "I have little taste for such things in general and in most cases have seen them only by accident. In general, I much prefer wandering around and seeing the evening amusements and pastimes of the people to visiting museums, theatres, shopping centres, etc."* Vladimir Ilyich usually did his "wandering around" in the evenings when he was living in Berlin in 1895, and this enabled him to study "the Berlin mores and listen to German speech".** It was not, however, only when he was in Berlin on his first trip abroad that he made a study of customs; there are quite a number of passages in his letters to his relatives which show that when he was living in Paris, or was there on a short trip, he found pleasure in examining the local way of life and he remarked the free and easy manner of the public in the streets and on the boulevards. "Paris is a very inconvenient town for a man of modest means to live in, and very tiring," he wrote after spending a few days in that city. "But there is no better and more lively town to stay in for a short time, just for a visit, for an outing."*** Vladimir Ilyich also studied Czech life when he was passing through Czechoslovakia and was sorry that he had not learned the Czech language; he gave a lively description of the manners and customs of the Galician peasants that he had an opportunity of observing when he was living in Galicia, and of the carnival in the Munich streets with its battles of confetti and streamers, etc. He loved life in all its forms and had a rare talent for observing and studying it on a broad scale.

The letters published here give a picture of Vladimir Ilyich's attitude towards his relatives and, to some extent, his feelings for people in general. How much care and

* Letter No. 10.—*Ed.*
** *Ibid.*
*** Letter No. 249.—*Ed.*

attention is displayed in those letters! Vladimir Ilyich was greatly attached to his relatives, especially to mother, and in all his letters, in those addressed to other members of our family as well as to mother, there is always a note of solicitude for her, the wish that things should go better for her and that she should have a more peaceful and comfortable life. His letters are full of questions about health, whether good arrangements have been made for an apartment, whether it is not cold. "I am worried that your apartment is so cold; what will it be like in winter if the temperature is only 12° now? You must not catch cold.... Is there nothing you can do? Perhaps you should put in a small stove," he wrote in a letter to his mother in 1909.* These letters contain a great deal of advice to "have a good rest in summer", "run about less, rest more and keep well", etc.

Vladimir Ilyich was particularly attentive to his mother at those times when some misfortune overtook her, and misfortunes were many in her life. First one, then another member of our family was arrested and exiled, sometimes several of us were arrested at the same time and she, though advanced in years, had to go again and again to prisons to visit her family and take things to them, to sit for hours in the waiting-rooms of the gendarmerie and the secret police, and was often left completely alone with her heart aching for her children who had been deprived of their liberty. How worried Vladimir Ilyich was at such times, and how heavily the lack of personal contact with his mother weighed upon him, can be seen from his letter of September 1, 1901. At that time my brother-in-law, Mark Yelizarov, and I were in prison, my sister Anna was abroad and could not return to Russia because she would have been arrested on the same charge, and our brother Dmitry could not remain with mother because he had to graduate from the University of Yuriev. She was left alone in the same way in a strange town in 1904 when my sister, my brother Dmitry and I were arrested on charges connected with the Kiev Party Committee and the Central Committee.

Vladimir Ilyich always wanted mother to live with him, and he frequently invited her to do so. This was difficult

* Letter No. 198.—*Ed.*

to arrange, however, because mother was always with those of her children who were particularly in need of her help, and in Russia that help was needed almost always by those who had fallen into the hands of the police. And so it turned out that each time Vladimir Ilyich was living in exile abroad, both the first and the second time, she was able to stay abroad only for a very short while to see him. In 1902, she lived for about a month with Vladimir Ilyich and our sister Anna at Loguivy in the north of France. The second time, and this was the last time she was to see her son, was in Stockholm, where she and I went in 1910 specially to visit him. Vladimir Ilyich always provided her with detailed itineraries for such trips and advised her to stop the night in hotels in order not to overtire herself with the journey. It was also in Stockholm that mother for the first and last time heard Vladimir Ilyich speak in public; it was at a meeting of worker exiles. When we left, Vladimir Ilyich accompanied us to the boat—he could not go aboard the vessel because it belonged to a Russian company and he might have been arrested on it—and I still remember the expression on his face as he stood there looking at mother. How much pain there was in his face! He seemed to feel that this was the last time he would see her. And so it was. Vladimir Ilyich did not see any of his relatives again until he came to Russia after the February Revolution, and mother died shortly before it, in July 1916. We did not receive the first letter Vladimir Ilyich wrote when he had news of mother's death. The next letter has not survived either, but from what I remember of it it showed what a heavy loss it was to him, how much pain it caused him, and how tender he was to all of us, who were also distressed by our loss.

Vladimir Ilyich also devoted considerable attention to us, his sisters and brother, and to Mark Yelizarov; he was always interested to know how we were getting on, whether we were earning anything, whether we had had good holidays, etc. He tried to get books for us to translate and sometimes sent foreign books to us for that purpose, showed an interest in what we read and studied, invited us to stay with him, and so on. Vladimir Ilyich also displayed a great interest in his comrades, inquired how they were getting

on and tried to help them materially as well. He undertook to write prefaces for his comrades' translations, so as to make it easier for them to get the books published and thus have an opportunity of earning something.

Comrades who are unacquainted with life in exile abroad and with the way legal correspondence was carried on under tsarism may think it strange that Vladimir Ilyich frequently says in his letters that he is "living very quietly", "peacefully", "modestly" and so on in periods such as that of the imperialist war, for instance, when it is obvious from literature and from his underground correspondence that he was displaying tremendous energy in the struggle against the chauvinism that was influencing most of the Social-Democratic parties. It must not be forgotten that at that time Vladimir Ilyich could only make his voice heard in the press, and then only in a publication that appeared once in several weeks or even, in several months, and which (like pamphlets) it was difficult to send from place to place; he could also speak at small meetings of exiles abroad or at small study circles for foreign workers. It stands to reason that such opportunities were far too little for Vladimir Ilyich; Nadezhda Krupskaya said that at the beginning of the revolution in Russia he created the impression of a lion trying to break out of its cage—was not his former life in exile abroad and out of contact with Russia, and especially during the imperialist war, a cage that greatly restricted him, that did not permit him to branch out and could not satisfy him, the natural leader, the voice of the people? He was eager for work on a broader scale, his was truly the eagerness of the caged lion, and he had to work hard at persuading two or three comrades to obtain access to broader masses. And for a nature like his was not "sleepy Borne" really too "quiet" and movement there too "gradual"?...

In his legal correspondence there are only occasional glimpses of his fury against "disgusting opportunists of the most dangerous type" and against "extreme vulgarities about voting for credits", etc. Here he was hampered by the censor and one has only to see which phrases from his letters (see Appendix, pp. 553-54) "attracted the attention" of the gendarmes and secret police and which became "material

evidence", to understand that both he and his relatives were at that time in a situation in which it was very difficult "to carry on the correspondence one would like".*

We had good reason to make the proviso at the beginning of this preface that Vladimir Ilyich's letters to his relatives are of significance and interest mainly because they provide a picture of him as a man (of course that picture is far from complete and, owing to conditions of police surveillance, somewhat one-sided). In this respect, it seems to me, they constitute a valuable contribution to the literature on Vladimir Ilyich, and one can only regret that so many letters to relatives and to comrades have been lost. There are other documents, especially his rich literary legacy, which speak of Lenin as the leader, the politician, the scholar.

Vladimir Ilyich's second period of exile abroad was particularly burdensome to him. When he arrived in Geneva after having lived in and near St. Petersburg, it was especially painful to return to the old ash-heap. "We have been hanging about this damned Geneva for several days now," he said in a letter to me on January 14, 1908. "It is an awful hole, but there is nothing we can do. We shall get used to it."** With his customary persistence and energy he got down to work, because he could "get used to" any conditions. "The only unpleasant thing was the actual moving, which was a change for the worse. That, however, was inevitable," he wrote in the next letter to mother.*** And this change from better to worse, this absence of the literature he needed for his work and of new books and newspapers made itself particularly felt at this time because in St. Petersburg he had been able to road all the newspapers and journals and keep up-to-date on books. And he asked us to obtain for him "the minutes of the Third Duma (the officially published verbatim reports and also the announcements, questions and bills brought before the Duma)", and to "send them *all*, missing nothing". He was also interested in the "programmes, announcements and leaflets of the

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* Letter No. 252.—*Ed.*
** Letter No. 158.—*Ed.*
*** Letter No. 159.—*Ed.*

Octobrists, the Rights, the Cossack group, etc." He was deprived of these necessary documents, whereas in the Duma "all these 'bits of paper' probably lie about on the floor and nobody picks them up". He also asked us to send him "*everything* new that the Mensheviks publish",* trade union journals that had survived the debacle, etc.

During his life in exile abroad Vladimir Ilyich felt the shortage, not only of books (although we tried to provide him with at least the most interesting books that appeared on the market), but also of Russian newspapers. Things were particularly bad in this respect during the imperialist war when at times Vladimir Ilyich had no Russian papers at all. "Please send Russian newspapers once a week after you have read them, because I have *none at all*," he wrote in a letter dated September 20, 1916.**

Vladimir Ilyich was also in dire need of an income, especially during his last years abroad. "There will soon be an end to all our old sources of subsistence and the question of earning something is becoming acute," wrote Nadezhda Krupskaya on December 14, 1915. She said that Vladimir Ilyich was "seriously troubled" because he was very conscientious where money was concerned or in accepting help from anybody, whoever it might be. "I shall get down to writing something or other, because prices have risen so hellishly that life has become devilishly difficult," he wrote on September 20, 1916.***

Just a few months before the February Revolution, in the autumn of 1916, Vladimir Ilyich had to look for books to translate and to correspond with publishers about getting them published. How unproductive a use for his labour it would have been if he had been compelled to spend his time translating, but this, too, was eventually "hindered" by the revolution.

Such were the conditions under which he lived abroad shortly before the revolution: lack of contact with Russia and the masses of working people, whom he was always trying so hard to exercise a direct influence over, the dif-

* Letters Nos. 158, 162, 158.—*Ed.*
** Letter No. 259.—*Ed.*
*** Krupskaya's Letter No. 53, Lenin's Letter No. 259.—*Ed.*

ficult living conditions in exile abroad—although energy and persistence were never lacking—so it is no wonder that his "nerves were on edge" and his whole organism seriously undermined.

His reporting of Nadezhda Konstantinovna's joke that he "must have been 'pensioned off'"* touches a bitter note in the letter of February 15, 1917.

After this letter in which the difficult conditions in which Vladimir Ilyich was forced to live in pre-revolutionary times could be seen behind the jokes, came the glad tidings by telegraph, "Arriving Monday 11 p.m. inform *Pravda*".**

That was the end of his period of exile, and also the end of his correspondence with his relatives.

I received only two tiny notes from Vladimir Ilyich after this,*** they were as short as his underground existence in Finland in the days of Kerensky and Kornilov on the eve of the Great October Revolution.

M. Ulyanova

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* Letter No. 262.—*Ed.*
** Telegram No. 264.—*Ed.*
*** Letters Nos. 265 and 266.—*Ed.*

APROPOS OF LENIN'S LETTERS TO RELATIVES*

A man's private correspondence is important in the compilation of his biography and in revealing him as an individual because it shows him in his day-to-day life, shows his relations with people and thus throws light on certain aspects of his character that are shown insufficiently or not at all by his scientific or public activities; in any case private correspondence adds new lines to the depiction of his character. Although Vladimir Ilyich's letters are, as a rule, very brief, condensed, and devoid of any effusiveness, which he never liked, any more than he liked other forms of verbosity; although behind the letters one feels the man of action accustomed to grudge the time he devotes to anything personal, they nevertheless reflect in some degree the character of the writer.

It should not be forgotten that the correspondence was carried on under conditions of tsarist censorship, when one had always to be prepared for the letters to be read by the police, with the result that they had to be particularly brief and condensed. "It is very difficult ... to carry on the correspondence one would like,"** Vladimir Ilyich wrote to Maria. Letters in invisible ink allowed of greater freedom; in these, in addition to purely business matters, one came across accounts of the latest Party news, of congresses and conferences, and precise characterisations—in two or three words—of people, parties and trends given by Vladimir

* This article was written by Lenin's sister Anna Ilyinichna Ulyanova-Yelizarova for the collection of *Letters to Relatives* published in 1931 and 1934.—*Ed.*

** Letter No. 252.—*Ed.*

Ilyich, the sharp, decisive expressions he used in ordinary, free conversation. Such letters, however, had to be destroyed immediately they had been read, so, of course, not a single one of them has been preserved. They were written between the lines of other letters or, more frequently between the lines of a book or journal or some reprint or other. And when Vladimir Ilyich acknowledged the receipt of books and wrote that some diary of the Congress of Technicians or reprint from the archives was "very interesting and thank Anyuta very much for it"* that meant, of course, that the secret letter had been received. Nor did I keep letters that were written in ordinary ink but were not sent to my own address; among such were, for instance, the letters I received in 1913-14 at the office of the journal *Prosveshcheniye* under an agreed-upon pseudonym. And it was not always convenient to keep letters sent to my private address—I recall a couple that Vladimir Ilyich himself asked me to destroy.

As far as concerns the letters in this collection, it must be said that although they were written to people close to the writer and consequently contain much that has to do with the family alone and has little general interest, the addressees were people close to Vladimir Ilyich not only by blood but also in their convictions; he was also writing to them on business, so that the legal letters were often supplementary to the others and, therefore, formed a link in the whole chain of correspondence. Vladimir Ilyich, of course, did not write to mother on business matters, but at the same time he had nothing to hide from her, knowing that she was fully in sympathy with his revolutionary efforts and all his work. The result was that a letter addressed to one member of the family was, more often than not, intended for all. Requests to us, his sisters, brother and brother-in-law, were often contained in letters to our mother; as a rule they were read by all members of the family and were often forwarded to those living in other towns.

The significance of Vladimir Ilyich's letters to his relatives naturally becomes all the greater for their having been written in the quarter of a century in which our Party, the

* Letter No. 42.—*Ed.*

party that Vladimir Ilyich did so much to build, emerged and took shape.

The most intensive and substantial correspondence belongs to the 1897-99 and 1908-09 periods, in which two big books by Vladimir Ilyich—*The Development of Capitalism in Russia* and *Materialism and Empirio-criticism*—were published, because these letters contained business requests connected with the two publications, with the reading of the proofs, etc. Quite apart from this, the letters of the first of these two periods are fuller and more frequent since they were written when Vladimir Ilyich was in exile in Siberia, a condition that makes even the most restrained people turn to letter-writing because of the involuntary seclusion and the lack of contact with the life of the outside world. The letters written by Vladimir Ilyich in this period, especially the more detailed ones addressed to mother, give us an excellent picture of the conditions under which he lived, his inclinations and habits—in these letters he stands out, if one may put it so, in clearest relief as a person.

Furthermore—and this is most important—in his letters from exile Vladimir Ilyich showed that he was not cut off from life, for in them he touched upon questions of Marxist theory and practice that were the most vital questions of the day. We see from the letters—although it occurs in a veiled form, the only possible form—his attitude to members of the Emancipation of Labour group, to Plekhanov and Axelrod, his complete agreement with them and his profound respect for them, his contact with them both through letters and through the talks I conducted with them on his instructions during my trip abroad in 1897. In these letters Vladimir Ilyich stated emphatically that "the isolation from political life" of which Axelrod had given warning must not on any account be permitted. "I believe the author to be wholly and a thousand times right, especially against narrow adherents of 'economics'",* meaning Maslov and Co., the editors of the newspaper *Samarsky Vestnik*, who had accused the journal *Novoye Slovo*, headed by Struve, of liberalism and sympathy for the bourgeoisie. At that time Vladimir Ilyich considered it a matter of

* *Collected Works*, Vol. 34, p. 26.—*Ed.*

current importance not to confine propaganda and agitation to the economic struggle alone. "It is important that the illusion should not be allowed to develop that anything can be achieved by the struggle against the factory-owners alone," he said to me shortly before his arrest. "From the very outset the political consciousness of the workers must be aroused." It was for this reason that Vladimir Ilyich, in complete agreement with the Emancipation of Labour group, took the side of Struve in his differences with the *Samarsky Vestnik* writers, as Fedoseyev and Martov also did, and wrote to Maslov and Co. in Struve's defence. One of the letters from Vladimir Ilyich (according to Maslov) was written in a militant tone and concluded with the words: "If you want war, let it be war". In 1899, Vladimir Ilyich on several occasions spoke against the Samarans in his letters.

"As far as the Samarans are concerned, I doubt very much whether they have said anything sensible (I have already had a letter about the accusation of 'bourgeois sympathies')."—letter of February 13, 1899.* Concerning the review of Gvozdyov's book he wrote: "I did not enjoy writing the review. I did not like the book—nothing new, generalities, an impossible style in places...." "It would be very useful and very interesting to talk on this subject (on the article about the heritage.—*A. Y.*) to people who do not limit themselves to Gvozdyov's theories (have you read his book about kulaks?** I think it is very, very weak)."***

Vladimir Ilyich continued his struggle against "economism" in agreement with Axelrod and Plekhanov, who in 1895, at the time of Vladimir Ilyich's first trip abroad, insisted on the need to get away from the disputes between study circles and the Narodniks, to break down the isolation and go over to the organisation of a political party of Social-Democrats; he noted, however, another extreme in Axelrod's new pamphlet (on the relationship between

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* Letter No. 76.—*Ed.*

** Gvozdyov, R., *Kulachestvo-rostovshchichestvo, yego obshchestvenno-ekonomicheskoye znacheniye*, St. Petersburg, 1899.

*** Letters Nos. 74 and 79.—*Ed.*

liberal and socialist democracy in Russia). Vladimir Ilyich showed that the author did not stress the class character of the movement sufficiently, that he was too kindly towards the Frondist agrarians and should have spoken of using them but not of supporting them.

In these letters we find some expression of Vladimir Ilyich's indignation at the revisionist trend then emerging—Bernstein's book, articles by German revisionists in *Neue Zeit* and Bulgakov's article. In respect of the last-named he wrote, "Bulgakov simply made me mad; such nonsense, such utter nonsense, and such eternal professorial pretentiousness—what the devil is this?!..." "Kautsky he *distorts outright*.... I am thinking of writing 'about Kautsky's book'" (against Bernstein.—*A.Y.*)—see letter of May 1, 1899.*

About Bernstein he wrote the following: "Nadya and I started reading Bernstein's book immediately; we have read more than a half and its contents astonish us more and more as we go on. It is unbelievably weak theoretically—mere repetition of someone else's ideas. There are phrases about criticism but no attempt at serious independent criticism. In effect, it is opportunism ... and *cowardly* opportunism at that, since Bernstein does not want to attack the programme directly.... Bernstein's statement that many Russians agree with him ... made us very indignant. We people here must indeed be getting 'old' and must be 'lagging behind the new words' ... copied from Bernstein. I shall soon be writing to Anyuta on this subject in detail."**

Ilyich asked his sister Maria to get him reports of the Hanover Party Congress (letter of August 22, 1899) that was to be held in October. The chief issue at the Hanover Congress, of course, was that of Bernstein. When Vladimir Ilyich sent his review of Bulgakov's article*** to *Novoye Slovo* (it was published in *Nauchnoye Obozreniye*) he wrote, "Of course, polemics among one's own people are unpleas-

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* Letters Nos. 85 and 87.—*Ed.*

** i.e., in invisible ink (see Letter No. 98.—*Ed.*).

*** Lenin's article "Capitalism in Agriculture (Kautsky's Book and Mr. Bulgakov's Article)" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 4, pp. 105-159) was sent to the journal *Nachalo* but was printed in *Zhizn* for January-February 1900.—*Ed.*

ant and I tried to tone the article down, but to keep quiet about differences is not only unpleasant, it is *downright harmful*—and, furthermore, one cannot keep quiet about the chief differences between 'orthodoxy' and 'criticism' that have come to the fore in German and Russian Marxism".*

Tugan-Baranovsky also made Vladimir Ilyich indignant (letter of June 20, 1899). "I have seen *Nauchnoye Obozreniye* No. 5, and find that Tugan-Baranovsky's article in it is monstrously foolish and nonsensical; he has simply arbitrarily introduced changes into the rate of surplus value in order to 'refute' Marx; he assumes an absurdity—a change in the productivity of labour without a change in the value of the product. I do not know whether every such nonsensical article is worth writing about. Let him first fulfil his promise to develop it in detail. In general, I am becoming a more and more determined opponent of the latest 'critical stream' in Marxism and of neo-Kantianism (which has produced, incidentally, the idea of separating sociological from economic laws). The author of *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Materialismus*** is quite right in declaring that neo-Kantianism is a reactionary theory of the reactionary bourgeoisie and in rebelling against Bernstein."***

Vladimir Ilyich's second article—"Once More on the Theory of Realisation"****—was directed mainly against Struve, whose sympathy for revisionism was becoming more and more obvious. It is true that at this time Vladimir Ilyich's criticism was still of a friendly nature since he was criticising one of his own side.

"I am now finishing an article in reply to Struve. It seems to me he has got things badly mixed up and his article may cause a good deal of misunderstanding among supporters and malicious glee among opponents" (March 7).*****

There gradually arose, however, misgivings of a more serious nature that come out more markedly in the letters to Potresov written in the same year (*Lenin Miscellany IV*).

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* Letter No. 87.—*Ed.*
** Plekhanov.
*** Letter No. 90.—*Ed.*
**** *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, pp. 74-93.—*Ed.*
***** Letter No. 80.—*Ed.*

He also wrote that he had begun studying philosophy from the few philosophical books in his possession.

"Volodya is busy reading all kinds of philosophy (that is now his official occupation)—Holbach, Helvétius, etc.," Nadezhda Krupskaya wrote in a letter to our mother on June 20, 1899.*

And lastly there was the document known as the *Credo*, probably the biggest political fact of the period, and the reply** to it compiled by 17 Social-Democrats; this is also mentioned in the letters.

"I shall write to Anyuta soon about the *Credo* (which interests and *exasperates* me and everybody else) in detail."*** (August 1, 1899.)****

"As far as the *Credo der Jungen* is concerned, I was amazed at the emptiness of the phrases. It is not a *Credo* but a pitiful collection of words I intend to write in greater detail about it." (August 25, 1899.)*****

I had sent this document to Vladimir Ilyich and quite by chance given it this name. I had not regarded it as being of any particular significance and in a letter in invisible ink I had said as briefly as possible "I am sending you a *Credo* of the young."

Later, when the name had come to be accepted and there was talk about an "Anti-Credo", I was worried about having exaggerated the importance of the document with this incorrect name, and wrote to Vladimir Ilyich about it in invisible ink. It seems this place in the letter remained unread because when he returned from exile I told him the document had not been the "symbol of faith" of any group of the young but came from the pen of two authors, Kuskova and Prokopovich, and that I had given it the name of *Credo* myself; Vladimir Ilyich was surprised and asked: "You did?" But then, after a short silence, be said in any case it had been necessary to reply to it. And that is how the document went the rounds under that name.

Thus we see that in his letters to his relatives sent from

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* Krupskaya's Letter No. 16.—*Ed.*
** *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, pp. 167-82.—*Ed.*
*** i.e., in invisible ink.
**** Letter No. 92.—*Ed.*
***** Letter No. 97.—*Ed.*

his place of exile, Vladimir Ilyich reacted to all the most urgent questions of the Party life of that time; there are signs in these letters of the main course he was mapping out, the course that was to avoid the narrowness of economism and also the threatening danger of diffusion that lay in offering favours to the liberals, and also the purely intellectualist attraction to revisionism and criticism for criticism's sake. While still in exile he was already selecting his comrades for the future Party organisation and for "undisguised literature";* he wrote to Potresov about the need for this and naming for it, of all his comrades in exile, only Martov, "the only one who really took all this (the interests of a journal, of the Party) seriously to heart". He drew up a plan for *Iskra*.

In Vladimir Ilyich's letters for the 1908-09 period—the time when his *Materialism and Empirio-criticism* was being published—there are also statements on general matters, especially on the subject of his book, although such statements are fewer than in the letters sent from Siberia which were, in general, much more detailed. The attempts to revise the philosophical aspect of Marxism (they were headed by Bogdanov and Lunacharsky in Russia) made Vladimir Ilyich no less indignant than Bernstein's politico-economic revision. We saw that when he was still in Siberia this neo-Kantian trend in Marxism aroused in him the desire to undertake the study of philosophy. In the years of reaction following our first revolution the "god-seeker" trend made him take up philosophical studies seriously and write a book analysing this deviation from Marxism.

"My illness has held up my work on philosophy very badly," he wrote to his sister Maria on July 13, 1908. "I

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* L. Kamenev's interpretation of these words in the Preface to Lenin's letters and in Note No. 41 (*Lenin Miscellany IV*, p. 19) is obviously incorrect. "Disguised literature" is of course to be understood, not to mean liberal literature wearing the cloak of Social-Democracy, but our own Social-Democratic literature that is compelled by the censor to take on legal form, i.e., there must be illegal as well as legal Social-Democratic literature. This passage gives no indication of a need to differentiate between us and "disguised liberals". There is no other way of understanding it.

am now almost well again and will most certainly write the book. I have been doing a lot of work on the Machists and I think I have sorted out all their inexpressible vulgarities (and those of 'empirio-monism' as well)."*

Vladimir Ilyich was terribly indignant at "*popovshchina*"**, a word he used for all kinds of god-seeking and all other attempts at dragging religious views into Marxism in some form or another. Because of the censorship he proposed changing the word "popovshchina" into "fideism", with a footnote explaining it (*fideism* is a doctrine which substitutes faith for knowledge, or which generally attaches significance to faith).***

That is how it appeared in the book. In the manuscript, the phrase to which this footnote was added read as follows: "Supported by all these supposedly recent doctrines, our destroyers of dialectical materialism proceed fearlessly to downright *popovshchina* (clearest of all in the case of Lunacharsky, but by no means in his case alone!)". And Vladimir Ilyich came down very heavily on these "destroyers"; he asked me not to tone down anything concerning them and I had difficulty in getting him to agree to a certain toning down for the sake of the censorship.

"'Mentally projected god' will have to be changed to 'mentally projected for himself—well, to use a mild expression—religious conceptions' or something of the sort".****

In the manuscript this phrase had the following wording: "People can think and mentally project for themselves any kind of hell, all sorts of devils. Lunacharsky even mentally projected for himself a god." When there was no question of censorship he wrote to me: "*Please* do not tone down *anything* in the places against Bogdanov, *Lunacharsky* and Co. They must not be toned down. You have deleted the passage about Chernov being a 'more honest' opponent than they, which is a great pity. The shade of meaning you have given is not the one I want. There is now no overall consistency in my accusations. The crux of the issue is that our Machists are *dishonest*, mean-spirited, cowardly enemies

* Letter No. 166.—*Ed.*
** From the colloquial Russian "pop", meaning "priest".—*Ed.*
*** *Collected Works*, Vol. 14, p. 19.—*Ed.*
**** Letter No. 175.—*Ed.*

of Marxism in philosophy." Further he said: "Please do not tone down the places against Bogdanov and Lunacharsky's *popovshchina*. We have *completely broken off* relations with them. There is no reason for toning them down, it is not worth the trouble." (March 9, 1909.)

"Especially—do *not* throw out Purishkevich," he wrote on March 21, "and the others in the section on the criticism of Kantianism!"*

Vladimir Ilyich compared the Machists to Purishkevich because the latter had once said that he criticised the Cadets more consistently and with greater determination than the Marxists did, and the Machists assured us that they criticised Kant more consistently and with greater determination than the Marxists did. But, Mr. Purishkevich, Vladimir Ilyich said to him, "it must not be forgotten that you criticised the Constitutional-Democrats for being *excessively* democratic while we criticised them for being *insufficiently* democratic. The Machists criticise Kant for being too much of a materialist, we criticise him for not being enough of a materialist. The Machists criticise Kant from the right, we from the left." (*Works*, Vol. XIII, p. 163.)**

When he later sent a supplement to Chapter Four, Section One, "From What Angle Did N. G. Chernyshevsky Criticise Kantianism?" Vladimir Ilyich wrote: "I regard it as extremely important to counterpose Chernyshevsky to the Machists."*** Vladimir Ilyich mentioned the political aspect of the differences known in those days as the differences with the *Vperyod* group in only a couple of words in his legal letters. "Things are bad here—*Spaltung* (split. —*A.Y.*), or rather, there will be one; I hope that in a month or six weeks I shall be able to give you exact information. So far I can do no more than guess" (May 26).**** Details of this split were given in the "Report on the Extended Editorial Board of *Proletary*" and in the appended resolutions: 5. The Break-away of Comrade Maximov (Bogdanov) and 4. The Party School Being Set Up Abroad at X—(Capri),

* See Letters Nos. 183, 182, 184.—*Ed.*
** *Collected Works*, Vol. 14, p. 199.—*Ed.*
*** Letter No. 185.—*Ed.*
**** Letter No. 191.—*Ed.*

for which the extended editorial board declared it could bear no responsibility "in view of the fact that the initiators and organisers of the school are one and all representatives of otzovism, ultimatumism and god-building" (June 1909, *Works*, Vol. XIV, pp. 89-103).*

Social affairs are touched upon still more scantily in the letters of the following years, which were, in general, fewer.

The first years of the second exile abroad were particularly dull and miserable and were a sad experience for Vladimir Ilyich. I saw that for myself when I visited him in Paris in the autumn of 1911. He seemed to be less vivacious than usual. One day when we were out walking together he said to me: "I wonder if I shall manage to live to the next revolution." The sad expression on his face reminded me of the photograph of him taken in 1895 by the secret police. The time was one of profound reaction. Only a few signs of a renascence were to be seen—the publication of *Zvezda* and *Mysl*, for example.

A note of pleasure resounded in his letter of January 3, 1911. "Yesterday I received *Zvezda* No. 1. from Russia and today *Mysl* No. 1. That is something to cheer me up!... It really is a pleasure!"**

His depression was deepened, of course, by the "bitter squabbles", which had a bad effect on work; Vladimir Ilyich wrote about this in 1910, having in mind the differences that existed between the C.C. Bureau Abroad and the *Vperyod* group. He referred to "a period so full of squabbles" in his letter of January 3, 1911, and apologised to my husband for his unpunctuality in answering letters.

It can be seen from his letters that Vladimir Ilyich's mood greatly improved after he moved to Krakow in the autumn of 1912. He wrote that he felt better than in Paris, he was resting his nerves, there was more literary work and fewer squabbles. The work for *Pravda*, the improved situation in working-class circles and in revolutionary work naturally had a beneficial effect on Vladimir Ilyich. There was a noticeable lessening of the squabbles, so much so that Gorky, Vladimir Ilyich wrote, was less unfriendly

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* *Collected Works*, Vol. 15, pp. 425-51.—*Ed.*

** Letter No. 215.—*Ed.*

towards us. It will be remembered that it was shortly after this that Gorky became one of the editors of the Bolshevik journal *Prosveshcheniye*.

Vladimir Ilyich wrote of the proposal for *Pravda* to publish pamphlets; he said that he was seeing more people from Russia and seemed to feel closer to Russia; he invited my husband, Mark Yelizarov, to the health resort at Zakopane, saying that trains went there direct from Warsaw; he also invited me, hinting that people living in the frontier zone could make the journey for thirty kopeks.

In general he was pleased with Krakow and wrote that he was not thinking of moving anywhere "unless the war chases us away, but I do not greatly believe in the war".* I moved to St. Petersburg in the autumn of 1913 where I was employed by the Bolshevik journal *Prosveshcheniye*, the journal *Rabotnitsa* and also *Pravda*. In addition to the letters in invisible ink, I had at that time a considerable correspondence with Vladimir Ilyich on literary matters; they were addressed to the office of *Prosveshcheniye* in the name of Andrei Nikolayevich. Out of this official correspondence I have so far been able to recover only two letters that had been copied by the police and which are not included in this collection of letters to relatives.

During the war, of course, letters were fewer and many of them were lost. The few that were preserved, even the postcards, touch upon questions that were most painful for Vladimir Ilyich. A postcard dated February 1, 1910 said, "We have been having 'stormy' times lately, but they have ended with an attempt at peace with the Mensheviks—yes, yes, strange as it may seem; we have closed down the factional newspaper and are trying harder to promote *unity*. We shall see whether it can be done...."**

The postcard of March 24, 1912 says, "...there is more bickering and abuse of each other than there has been for a long time—there has probably never been so much before. All the groups and sub-groups have joined forces against the last conference and those who organised it, so that matters even went as far as fisticuffs at meetings here."***

* Letter No. 229.—*Ed.*
** Letter No. 204.—*Ed.*
*** Letter No. 222.—*Ed.*

In his letter of November 14, 1914 he wrote, "It is very sad to watch the growth of chauvinism in a number of countries and to see such treacherous acts as those of the German* (and not only the German) Marxists or pseudo-Marxists.... It stands to reason that the liberals are praising Plekhanov again; he has fully deserved that shameful punishment.... I have seen the disgraceful, shameless issue of *Sovremenny Mir*.... Shame! Shame!"**

Official correspondence in invisible ink became more intensive in those years, when all correspondence with the Central Committee was greatly reduced, and in the only postcard from Vladimir Ilyich that has been preserved for the year 1915 he thanked me "very, very, very much for the book, for the most interesting collection of pedagogical publications and for the letter". The collection of pedagogical publications was "interesting", of course, on account of what was written between the lines in invisible ink.

In Vladimir Ilyich's letters to his relatives, therefore, we see his comments on the struggle for the correct understanding of Marxism and for its correct application at the various stages of development of the proletarian movement which he conducted throughout his life.

Now let me try to draw some conclusions on the basis of these letters, to show in brief those aspects of Vladimir Ilyich's personality, the features of his character, that, in my opinion, stand out in his letters to his relatives.

The first thing we notice (and this has been mentioned in the reviews of the letters published in part in *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya*) is the permanence of his attachment, his enduring, unchanging attitude towards the same people in the course of many long years. It is true that these are his immediate relatives, but the permanence of his affection, the steadiness and stability of his character are

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* The voting of the German Social-Democrats for war credits on August 4, 1914.

** Containing an article by Iordansky, "Let There Be Victory!" (See Letter No. 253.—*Ed.*)

clearly delineated in these letters. We can also see from the same letters the permanence of his conviction and his faith in his cause; in Vladimir Ilyich's letters to people who were close to him, such people as one could be most outspoken with, there is not the slightest vacillation or doubt, not the slightest tendency to veer in any other direction.

Nor do we see any traces of whining and despondency in him—such behaviour is, in general, not in keeping with his character—or any complaints about his position, be it in prison, in exile in Siberia or abroad, or even any sour note in his descriptions. Of course, this was also because most of the letters were addressed to mother, who had suffered so much on account of her children, a fact of which Vladimir Ilyich, who deeply loved and respected his mother, was profoundly aware. He felt that his own personal activities were causing his mother a great deal of worry and pain and as far as lay in his power he tried to make things easier for her.

His energy could be felt in letters to other members of the family as well, even to those who were at various times living apart from mother. I remember, for instance, the letters he wrote me between 1900 and 1902, when I was living abroad, and which I naturally had to destroy before I returned to Russia. I remember that his letters were always refreshing and an antidote to all depression and nervousness; they inspired enthusiasm and made one pull oneself together morally. His self-confidence did not, however, crush one; it gave one energy and an urge to greater self-fulfilment; his witty jokes filled one with the joy of living and this was the best lubrication for any kind of work. His letters display a great sensitiveness to the mood of the other person and friendly, comradely attention to him—this can be seen in his solicitude for his mother and other members of the family and his solicitude for his comrades—his questions and tales about them when he was in prison, in exile or abroad (see, for example, the letters of March 15 and April 5, 1897).

At the same time one notices the simplicity and the natural manner of Vladimir Ilyich, his great modesty, the complete absence not only of conceit and boastfulness but of any attempt to play up the services he had rendered or to

show off; and this was in his youth, when some sort of showing off is natural in a talented person. For a long time he would not agree to call his big, fundamental monograph *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*, which, he said, "is too bold, too broad and promises too much ... and should be more modest" (February 13, 1899) and the argument that the book would sell better with that title he "did not like" either (January 10, 1899).*

All the labour that he devoted to the study of material for his book on philosophy and other works while in prison, in exile and later when he was abroad, the writing of legal and illegal pamphlets and articles, many of which were lost—all this labour he regarded as something perfectly natural and normal. Here his tremendous industry, his natural restraint and his tenacity in carrying through whatever he had undertaken are also apparent. The time limits fixed for *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* or for certain chapters of the book were, as a rule, kept to, as can be seen from the letters printed below.

Since he was exacting to himself he was naturally exacting to others. He always gave many instructions and insisted on their being carried out; he trained everybody who at any time worked with him in the accuracy and thoroughness that was his own. Vladimir Ilyich was always displeased with unpunctuality, with delays in work, in carrying out instructions or in answering letters. In his letters sent from exile he inveighs against Struve for his slackness in answering; in the letters of 1908-09 he expresses his displeasure with Comrade Skvortsov-Stepanov for his careless reading of the proofs of *Materialism and Empirio-criticism*, which he had undertaken to correct, and so on.

From Vladimir Ilyich's letters we can also see his great modesty and his complete lack of fastidiousness in life, his ability to be content with little; no matter what conditions fate provided for him he always wrote that he needed nothing and was eating well—whether it was in Siberia where he had to provide everything for himself out of an allowance of eight rubles a month, or when he was living abroad and we were able to check up on him during

* See Letters Nos. 76 and 60.—*Ed.*

our rare visits and were always able to prove that he had far from enough to eat. He was always worried by the fact that his circumstances forced him to accept financial aid from mother longer than is usual, instead of helping her. On October 5, 1893, he wrote, "...The expenditure is still excessive—38 rubles in a month. Obviously I have not been living carefully; in one month I have spent a ruble and 36 kopeks on the horse trams, for instance. When I get used to the place I shall probably spend less."* Later, too, he was worried and asked mother not to send him money and not to save money from her pension when he heard that this was what she wanted to do on learning of his straitened circumstances from a letter sent to someone else (letter of January 19, 1911).

He was also embarrassed at having to take money from the Party, when his income from writing was not enough to live on. With some bitterness Vladimir Ilyich related Nadezhda Krupskaya's joke that he "must have been 'pensioned off'", when money came to him from Russia (February 15, 1917).**

For reasons of economy Vladimir Ilyich tried wherever possible to use books from libraries. He spent next to nothing on amusements; visits to theatres and concerts were so rare that they could not affect his budget (see letter of February 9, 1901). Vladimir Ilyich, indeed, preferred the open air to social forms of recreation, where there were a lot of people. "Here," he wrote from Stjernsund (Finland) on his return from the Fifth Party Congress, "you can have a wonderful rest, swimming, walking, no people and no work. No people and no work—that is the best thing for me" (June 27, 1907). The walk is a pleasure although I have to walk about 5 versts a day, an hour's walk, he wrote from Siberia in 1897.***

With their rucksacks on their backs, he and his wife would wander over the mountain slopes and passes of Switzerland. He climbed in the Alps and when he lived near Krakow he went climbing in the Tatras. It was not only such

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* Letter No. 1.—*Ed.*
** Letter No. 262.—*Ed.*
*** Letters Nos. 155 and 19.—*Ed.*

outstanding beauties of nature that attracted him; he rode or walked round the environs of big cities such as London or Munich. "We are the only people among the comrades here who are exploring *every bit* of the surrounding country. We discover various 'rural' paths, we know all the places nearby and intend to go further afield."* "We find the road to out-of-the-way places to which none of the exiles ever go." He was interested in sport-shooting, skating, cycling and chess, and engaged in these amusements with all the ingenuousness of a youth or even a boy.

He describes some of his mountain trips very vividly, if briefly—the trip to Salève near Geneva, for instance, or his Shu-shu-shu in Siberia.

In the letters there is also evidence of Vladimir Ilyich's ability to make the most of the present moment; in prison, in exile and in the worst times abroad he delved into scientific and theoretical problems, erected and strengthened, so to speak, the scientific buttresses of the cause to which he devoted his life—work for the proletarian revolution—at times when fate decreed that he must remain more or less aloof from direct participation. And when life brought him into greater contact with people—in the country, travelling, in trains—he showed his ability to take in reality, to understand the masses, to rise to generalisations from minor facts and to determine and consolidate the line that leads from theory and the general ideals of life to life as it really is and back again. He showed his ability to gather impressions from everywhere, from all conversations, from letters. We see how Vladimir Ilyich hungered after ordinary letters that simply drew a picture of the life around one without setting out to achieve any general aims, how hungry he was for them and asked for them to be sent more often.

And, lastly, we see in these letters Vladimir Ilyich's ability to maintain his composure and equilibrium both in prison and after (see the letter with his advice to our sister Maria, May 19, 1901), how, after imprisonment or various social and political disturbances that had undermined this equilibrium, he would make determined efforts to return to normal. He realised that this equilibrium was

* Letter No. 148.—*Ed.*

essential for the mental or political work that was the aim of his life. For the same reason he spent the whole three years of his exile in Shushenskoye, never asking for a transfer to a town in the way most exiles did. He wrote that temporary visits to the town were better than permanent residence there. Speaking of the suicide of Fedoseyev he wrote, "For people in exile, these 'exile scandals' are the worst thing of all." "No, don't wish me comrades from among the intellectuals in Shushenskoye—I'd rather not!" (January 24, 1898).*

In bringing to a close this brief indication of the traits and peculiarities in the character of Vladimir Ilyich which, in my opinion, are shown by the letters to his relatives published below, I hope that they will help the reader to gain a clearer picture and a closer understanding of Vladimir Ilyich as a person.

A. Ulyanova-Yelizarova

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* Letters Nos. 53 and 38.—*Ed.*

V. I. LENIN
1897

1893

1
TO HIS MOTHER[1]

October 5

Yesterday, Mother dearest, I received your letter of October 2. At long last I have found myself a good room, or so it seems; there are no other lodgers and the landlady has a small family; the door between my room and their drawing-room is papered over, so that sounds are faint. The room is clean and light. There is a good entrance. Since, in addition, it is not far from the centre (only some 15 minutes' walk from the library) I am quite satisfied.

I saw Tillo yesterday and today. He did not get the ticket and, unfortunately, cannot get it because the person he was counting on is not here. Incidentally, he says that when his own position in the provisional railway administration is more secure, perhaps he will be able to. That, it seems, will not be soon.

I went to Volkov Cemetery soon after my arrival—everything, the cross and wreath, is intact.[2]

Your loving,
V. Ulyanov

Please send me some money, mine is nearly at an end.* I have been informed from Samara that the fee for the Grafov case (the Kazan case that I conducted in Samara) has been promised for November. That will give me 70 rubles (if the promise is fulfilled, and what chance there is of that, I don't know). I have been promised a job in a consulting lawyer's office here, but when that will be arranged (and whether it will be arranged) I do not know.

* I shall have to pay 10 rubles when I am appointed assistant, which should be soon.

Write and tell me about the state of your finances; did you get anything from Auntie? Did you get the September rent from Krushvits? Is there much left of the deposit (500 rubles) after moving and settling down?[3]

I am now, for the first time in St. Petersburg, keeping a cash-book to see how much I actually spend. It turned out that for the month August 28 to September 27 I spent altogether 54 rubles 30 kopeks, not including payment for things (about 10 rubles) and expenses for a court case (also about 10 rubles) which I shall probably conduct. It is true that part of this 54 rubles was spent on things that do not have to be bought every month (galoshes, clothes, books, an abacus, etc.), but even discounting that (16 rubles), the expenditure is still excessive—38 rubles in a month. Obviously I have not been living carefully; in one month I have spent a ruble and 36 kopeks on the horse trams, for instance. When I get used to the place I shall probably spend less.

Written October 5, 1893
Sent from St. Petersburg to Moscow

First published in 1929
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from
the original

2

TO HIS SISTER MARIA[4]

Manyasha,*

I read with interest your letter of September 27 and would be very glad if you would write to me occasionally.

I have not been to the Hermitage Museum or to theatres., I somehow do not want to go alone. In Moscow I shall be glad to go to the Tretyakov Gallery and other places with you.

I read *Russkiye Vedomosti*[5]** (two weeks old) in the Public Library. When I get a job here perhaps I will subscribe to it. It is not worth while saving them for me, but I think they should not be torn up too soon—there may be something interesting that will be needed.

From what you say about the French teacher I see that if the Moscow schoolgirls are ahead of you it is not by very much. The average girl probably doesn't know the language any better than you? Write and tell me whether you spend a lot of time doing your homework.

Tell Mitya[6]*** that he should tell the bookseller to go to hell if he asks 25 rubles for Klyuchevsky—he should not pay more than 4 rubles.[7] How is Mitya getting on with his studies?

Till we meet,

Yours,

V. U.

Can you read my writing?

Written in October 1893
Sent from St. Petersburg to Moscow

First published in 1929
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* *Manyasha*—one of the many pet names formed from Maria.—*Ed.*

** Translations of the titles of books, articles and periodicals mentioned in the letters will be found in the Index of Literary Works and Sources given as an appendix to this volume.—*Ed.*

*** *Mitya*—the pet name for Dmitry.—*Ed.*

1894

3

TO HIS SISTER MARIA

December 13, 1894

I have not had a letter from home for a long time. How are you, Manyasha? They did write that you are going to school again.

You ought to force yourself to take a walk for about two hours every day. It is not worth while poring over your lessons so industriously—you will ruin your health.

What do you do apart from school work? What are you reading? Do you see M. I.?* Is she going to the Crimea or not? And write to me, if it is convenient, about what happened to Klyuchevsky at the University. They say he delivered a lecture of some sort and then published a book. I have not seen even the title of the book—it would be interesting to know about it.[8]

How is your new acquaintanceship proceeding?

Yours,
V. U.

I wrote a long time ago asking someone to find out about Volume III of *Capital*. It has been promised me (an acquaintance,** whom Mark[9] knows). Now I do not know anything. Will he fulfil his promise? Does he still promise or does he now refuse? I should like to know because it is not easy to get that book. Tell Mark this, please.

Regards to everybody.

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* Did she get my letter?

** It is not known who is referred to. It may have been R. E. Zimmermann (Gvozdyov), whom Mark Yelizarov knew in Samara, or it may have been V. A. Yonov.—*Ed.*

Is Mother well? Kiss her for me.

I shall be expecting a letter from you.

Tell Anyuta[10]* I have been to Al. Andreyevich and it was a waste of time. He has received a promise and is waiting, but whether he will wait in vain or not, nobody knows.

Sent from St. Petersburg to Moscow

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* *Anyuta*—one of the many pet names formed from Anna.—*Ed.*

4

TO HIS SISTER MARIA

December 24

Manyasha,

At last I have found time to answer your letter of the 15th.

I cannot agree with your views of the school and your studies.

First—the doctor said don't go till Christmas and you think it will not be convenient to miss your lessons. People miss months, not only weeks; it will not be any better if you have to take to your bed by the spring.

Secondly—you write that either you will stop studying altogether or, if you go on, you can't be "just off-hand about it". It seems to me that the main thing now is to *graduate*. For that there is no sense in working extra hard; what does it matter if you get threes* and an occasional two* by way of exception? In any case you will get your remove since you had good marks in the first and second terms. And that is all you need. Moreover, since you did everything thoroughly at the beginning, you will finish up well even if you do no homework. You must agree that those who go all the way through with threes do not, first, do their homework and, second, do not know the first thing about the subject. [At least that is how it was at my school.] So you will have an advantage over them.

It seems to me that your only chance of finishing the course is to be "off-hand" about it. If you don't, you will be seriously ill by summer.

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* In Russian schools a mark of "three" = fair, "two" = poor.—*Ed.*

If you cannot take things easy, then it is better to give up studying and go abroad. You will always be able to graduate and a trip now will freshen you up, enliven you, and get you away from moping at home. You will have a chance to look around and stay on there to learn something more interesting than Ilovaisky's *History* or Filaret's *Catechism* (?).

Do you take good walks now? Probably not. Why shouldn't you go skating? Again you'll say, "It's dull". But you must not allow yourself to get so weak—that will be even less "amusing". You must force yourself.

About Shelgunov, I agree with you that some of his things are out of date. Which of his articles do you like? On Russian or historical problems? On economics or philosophy?

Yours,
V. U.

Written December 24, 1894
Sent from St. Petersburg to Moscow

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1895

5

TO HIS MOTHER

Salzburg, May 14 (2), 1895

I am making use of a two-hour stop at a small Austrian town (not far,* now, from my destination) to fulfil my promise to write on the way.[11]

This is my second day of travel abroad and I am practising the language; I have discovered that I am weak at this and have the greatest difficulty in understanding the Germans—or rather, *I don't understand them at all*.** I ask the guard on the train a question, he answers and I don't understand him. He repeats the answer more loudly. I still don't understand, and so he gets angry and goes away. In spite of this disgraceful fiasco I am not discouraged and continue distorting the German language with some zeal.

Regards to all,

Yours,

V. Ulyanov

I shall probably not be able to write another letter very soon.

Sent to Moscow

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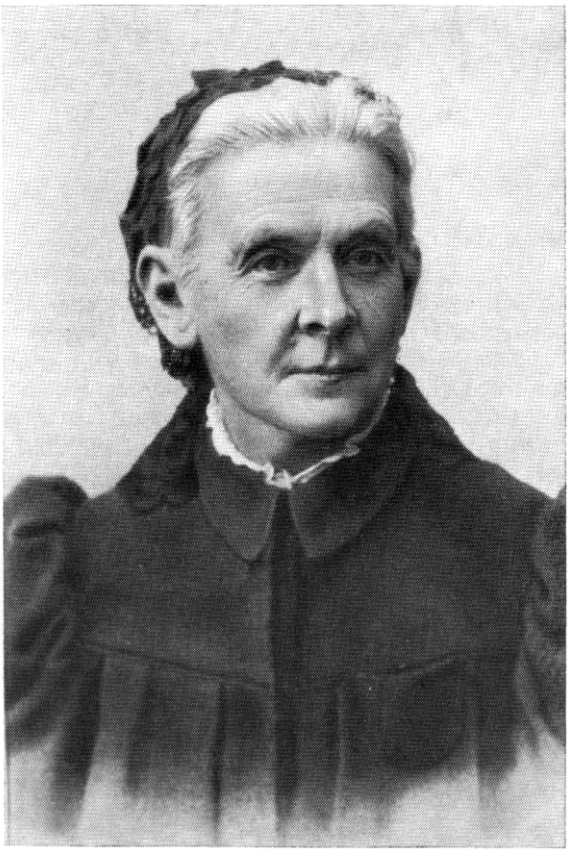
* A little over 24 hours.

** Their pronunciation is so strange and they speak so quickly that I do not understand even the simplest words.



M. A. ULYANOVA
1898

6

TO HIS MOTHER

May 20 (8)

I wrote the last letter on the way here. Now I have settled down in one place. I do not think, however, that it will be for long as I shall be moving on somewhere.

The scenery here is splendid, I am enjoying it all the time. The Alps began immediately after the little German station I wrote to you from; then came the lakes and I could not tear myself away from the window of the railway carriage; if I could find out something about local conditions and prices (one could surely put up cheaply in the country districts) it would perhaps be possible to spend the summer here. The fare is not much and the scenery is splendid.

I have seen my god-daughter and her family.[12] We spoke, incidentally, on the subject of prices which Mark raised.* I seems that servants are very expensive here—25 to 30 francs a month, all found—and they have to be fed well.

Have you found a place for the summer at last? I do not need the address, I suppose, because I can always write to Mark, but I should like....**

Written May 20, 1895
Sent from Switzerland to Moscow

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* I am now fixed up... (The continuation of the footnote was on the second page of the letter which has been lost.—*Ed.*)

** The rest of the letter has been lost.—*Ed.*

7

TO HIS MOTHER

Paris, 8 juin 95

I received your letter just before I left for Paris. It is a pity things turned out so badly over Mitya's illness; I don't understand how they can refuse to postpone his examination if he has a doctor's certificate to the effect that he has been ill. Why doesn't he want to take the matter further? Why should he lose a year?

Manyasha is probably finishing or has finished her examinations by now. She ought to have a good rest this summer.

I am only just beginning to look round me a bit in Paris; it is a huge city, spread out a good deal, so that the suburbs (where I spend most of my time) give you no idea of the centre. It makes a very pleasant impression—broad, light streets, many boulevards, and lots of greenery; the people are quite unrestrained in their manners—at first it comes as rather a surprise after one had been accustomed to the sedateness and primness of St. Petersburg.

I shall have to spend several weeks here to see it properly.

Lodgings here are very cheap; for instance, 30 to 35 francs a month for two rooms and a kitchen, 6 to 10 francs a week for a furnished room—so I hope to get fixed up without spending too much.

Regards to all,

Yours,

V. Ulyanov

Are you satisfied with your place in the country?*

Sent to Moscow

First published in 1929 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

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* The end of the letter has been lost.—*Ed.*

8

TO HIS MOTHER

18 juillet (July 6), 1895

I wrote my last letter, unless I am mistaken, on the 8th. Since then I have wandered about quite a lot and have landed up at a Swiss spa; I have decided to take advantage of the fact and get down seriously to the treatment of the illness (stomach) that I am so fed up with, especially as the doctor who runs the place has been strongly recommended to me as a specialist in his field. I have been living at this spa for several days and feel not at all bad; the board is excellent and the treatment seems to be effective, so I hope to get away from here in four or five days. The cost of living here, as far as I can see, is very high; treatment is still more expensive, and I have already exceeded my budget and no longer expect to manage on my own resources. If you can, send me another 100 rubles or so to this address: *Suisse*, *Zürich*. Parterre. Seilergraben, 37. *H-n Grünfest*[13] [*nothing else*; there is no need for anything to be passed on to me].* In any case I shall await an answer at this address and shall not send you my address because it would be useless—anyway, I shall be leaving here before I get an answer.

How did you enjoy your journey down the Volga? What was new there? Is everybody well? A letter has probably been sent me, but I have not yet received it [the last news I had was from Mark, in Paris—a postcard], because I have

* The best way to send money is in a registered envelope, through the post.

been on the move all the time. If it was sent to the Paris address I shall receive it.

Are you having a hot summer? Here it is very hot, but I am now living in a good place, a long way from the town, amid greenery and close to a big lake.

Regards to all,

Yours,

V. U.

Sent from Switzerland to Moscow

First published in 1929 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from the original

9

TO HIS MOTHER

Berlin, den 10. August 1895

I do not know whether you received my last letter which I sent from here about a week ago. I will repeat my address, just in case: Berlin, Moabit, Flensburgerstrasse, 12^{II} (bei Frau Kurreick) Herrn W. Ulianoff.

I am fixed up here very well—a few steps away from me is the Tiergarten (a splendid park, the best and biggest in Berlin), the Spree, where I bathe every day, and a station of the urban railway. There is a railway here that traverses the whole town (above the streets). The trains run every five minutes, so it is easy for me to go "to town" (Moabit, where I am living, is actually considered a suburb).

The only bad thing is the language—I understand far less conversational German than French. The pronunciation of the Germans is so unlike what I am accustomed to that I do not even understand public speeches, although in France I understood practically everything in such speeches from the very outset. The day before yesterday I was at the theatre; they played Hauptmann's *The Weavers*. Although I had read the whole play beforehand in order to be able to follow it, I could not catch all the phrases. Still, I am not discouraged and only regret that I have too little time to study the language thoroughly.

Regards to all,

Yours,

V. U.

If you have already sent me some money, please write and let me know immediately; if not, send it here.

I have had no letters from you for such a long time, probably because they (the letters) are following me around in my wanderings.

Sent to Moscow

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the original

10

TO HIS MOTHER

August 29, 1895

I received your letter a few days ago, Mother dearest, and today I also got a letter from Mark to whom I am writing a short postscript.

I am still living in the same way and am so far pleased with Berlin. I feel very well—perhaps the regular life [I got tired of moving from place to place and, travelling like that, I did not manage to eat properly or regularly], the bathing and so on, according to doctor's orders, are having their effect. I am still working in the Königliche Bibliothek* and in the evenings I wander about studying the Berlin mores and listening to German speech. I am now getting used to it and understand it somewhat better than before, but still very, very poorly.

I am lazy about visiting the Berlin Sehenswürdigkeiten**; I have little taste for such things in general and in most cases have seen them only by accident. In general, I much prefer wandering around and seeing the evening amusements and pastimes of the people to visiting museums, theatres, shopping centres, etc.

I do not think I shall be staying here long—"visiting is all very well, but there is no place like home".

I am going to remain here for a while, however, and to my great horror see that I am again in financial "difficulties"; the "temptation" to buy books, etc., is so great that

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* Royal Library (Ger.).—*Ed.*

** Sights (Ger.).—*Ed.*

the devil alone knows where the money goes. I must again appeal for "philanthropy"; if you can, send me from 50 to 100 rubles.

Mark writes that your housing situation is tragic—there is nothing at all to let. In this respect Moscow, it seems, is worse than St. Petersburg. All this bother about a flat is very unpleasant. I hope you soon get it settled.

Regards to all,

Yours,

V. Ulyanov

Sent from Berlin to Moscow

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11

TO HIS MOTHER

September 7 (August 26), 1895

Today I received your letter with the money, Mother dearest, and thank you for it. I am surprised to hear of such a great difference in the weather; you write that it is cold in Moscow, but here it is hotter than it was all through August, so I thought you were probably still living in the country.

There have been no changes in my way of life here and I have got so used to it that I feel myself almost at home and would willingly stay longer; but the time has come to leave and I am beginning to think of various practical problems like buying things and a suitcase, and about tickets, etc. Is there anything I can bring you? I can buy anything here in some big shop; it seems to me manufactured goods here are cheaper than ours and probably better. Perhaps Mitya needs some books—let him write [for instance he may need some album of anatomy, or something else to do with medicine] and Manyasha, too. If she has nothing in mind, you or Anyuta advise me what to bring her. I feel I should be buying all sorts of stuff....*

Sent from Berlin to Moscow

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* The rest of the letter has been lost.—*Ed.*

12

TO HIS MOTHER

December 5, 1895

I received a letter from Anyuta yesterday, Mother dearest, in which she told me that you are thinking of going with the Ardashevs[14] to Kazan, and I hasten to write to you.

The Ardashevs intended leaving today. D. A. has suggested that I take on the business of proving one of his relatives' right to an inheritance, although we have not yet come to a complete agreement.

Life goes on as usual. I am not very pleased with the room, first, because of the landlady's fault-finding, and second—it seems that the next room is separated from mine by only a thin partition, so that everything can be heard and sometimes I have to run away from the balalaika with which my neighbour amuses himself right in my ear. Up to now, this has fortunately not happened very often. He is out most of the time, and then the rooms are very quiet.

I do not yet know whether I shall stay here for another month.[15] I'll see. In any case when the lease of my room runs out at Christmas it will not be difficult to find another.

The weather is very fine here now and my new overcoat is just right for this season.*

Sent from St. Petersburg to Moscow

First published in 1929 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

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* The rest of the letter has been lost.—*Ed.*

1896

13

TO A. K. CHEBOTARYOVA[16]

January 2, 1896

I have a plan that has occupied my mind ever since I was arrested, and the more I think of it the more interested I become. I have long been engaged on a certain economic problem (on the sale of manufactured goods on the home market). I had gathered some literature on the subject, drawn up a plan of operations, and had even written something, expecting to publish as a book if the size exceeds that of an article for a journal. I am very anxious not to abandon this work but I am apparently now faced with the alternative—either write it here or give it up altogether.

I am well aware that the plan to write it here will meet with many serious obstacles. Perhaps, however, it is worth while trying.

Obstacles that one might call "independent" will, I think, be removed. Prisoners are allowed to do literary work; I made a special point of asking the prosecutor about this, although I knew beforehand (even convicts in prison are allowed to write). He also confirmed that there is no limit to the number of books I may receive. Books, moreover, may be returned; consequently one can make use of libraries. And so everything is all right from that point of view.

There are other, more serious obstacles—getting the books. I need a lot of books—I am giving a list below of those which I have in mind at present—and to obtain them will require a considerable amount of trouble. I do not even know whether they can all be obtained. It will probably be all right to count on the library of the Free Economic Society,[17]*

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* I have taken books from there and left a deposit of 16 rubles.

which allows books to be taken away for two months on payment of a deposit, but that library is not very complete. If it were possible to use (through some writer or professor*) the University library or the library of the learned committee of the Ministry of Finance, the question of obtaining books would be settled. Some books would have to be bought, of course, and I think I can allot a certain sum for that.

The last and most difficult problem is that of delivering the books. It is not merely a matter of bringing a couple of books or so; at regular intervals, over a lengthy period they will have to be obtained from the libraries, brought here** and taken back. That is something I do not yet know how to arrange. Unless it can be done this way—find some door porter or janitor, or a messenger or some boy whom I could pay to go for books. The exchange of books—because of the conditions under which I work and also because of the terms on which books are lent from the library—would, of course, have to be done correctly and punctually, so all that must be arranged.

"Easier said than done"…. I have a very strong feeling that this business will not be easy to carry out and that my "plan" may turn out to be more fantasy. Perhaps you will think it useful to pass this letter on to somebody, to get some advice—and I will await an answer.

The book list is divided into the two parts into which my essay is divided: A. The general theoretical part. This requires fewer books and I hope, at any rate, to write this part, even though it requires greater preparation. B. The application of theoretical postulates to Russian data. This part requires very many books. The chief difficulties will be caused by (1) publications of local authorities—some of them, incidentally, I have; some can be ordered (minor monographs) and some can be obtained through statisticians with whom we, are acquainted; (2) government publications—the records made by commissions, the reports and.

* Lenin had in mind P. B. Struve, A. N. Potresov and their connections.—*Ed.*

** I think that once a fortnight would be enough, or perhaps, even, once a month—if a larger number of books were delivered at a time.

minutes of congresses, etc. This is very important; it is more difficult to get these. Some of them, probably most of them, are in the library of the Free Economic Society.

The list I am appending is a long one, because it is drawn up for work on an extensive scale.* If it should turn out that certain books, or certain classes of books, cannot be obtained, I shall have to narrow down the subject somewhat to suit the situation. This is quite possible, especially as concerns the second part.

I have omitted from the list books that are in the library here; those that I have are marked with a cross.

Since I am quoting from memory I may have mixed up some of the titles and in such cases I have placed (?) against them.**

Sent from the remand prison
in St. Petersburg

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* If it is possible to work on this scale, the list will, of course, be considerably extended in the course of the work.

** The list of books appended to the letter has been lost.—*Ed.*

14

TO HIS SISTER ANNA

January 12, 1896

I got your parcel yesterday and just before yours somebody else brought me food of all kinds, so I have now got quite a stock—I could, for instance, start trading in tea, but I don't think it would be allowed because I should certainly win the competition with the shop here. I eat very little bread, I try to maintain something of a diet—and you brought such enormous quantities that I think it will last me almost a week and get as hard as the Sunday pie at Oblomovka.[18]

I now have everything I need, and even more than I need.* My health is quite satisfactory. I even get my mineral water here—it is brought to me from the chemists' on the day I order it. I sleep about nine hours a day and see various chapters of my future book in my sleep.

Is Mother well, and all the rest of our family? Give my regards to everyone.

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

If you should happen to be here at any time, please bring me a pencil, one with the lead in a metal holder. The ordinary pencils, made of wood, are a nuisance here—knives are not allowed. I have to ask the warders to sharpen pencils

* Someone, for instance, brought me a frock coat, waistcoat and travelling rug. All this was immediately "dispatched" to the storeroom as superfluous.

and they don't do such jobs willingly and never without procrastination.

I should like to get the enema in an oval box that is* in the drawer of my wardrobe. This should not be impossible, even without a letter of attorney; push 25 kopeks into the landlady's hand and tell her to take a cab and come here to deliver it and *get a signature for it*. Unfortunately, however, this highly respected matron is as stubborn as Korobochka.** At present there is no urgent need of it, so it is not worth buying one.

Sent from the remand prison
in St. Petersburg

First published in 1931
in Lenin's *Letters to Relatives*

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the original

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* Perhaps it would be better to say "was".

** A character from Gogol's *Dead Souls* who haggled over the price she was to receive for serfs long dead.—*Ed*.

15

TO HIS SISTER ANNA

January 14, 1896

Yesterday I received your letter of the 12th and am sending you a second letter of attorney. Actually I am not sure it is necessary; yesterday I got some of my things, which made me think my first letter giving power of attorney had been received. In any case I am sending one, in answer to your letter and Alexandra Kirillovna's. Now I have underclothes and everything—*quite enough*; do not send any underclothes as there is nowhere to keep them. But they can be sent to the storeroom, so as to end the matter once and for all.

I am very thankful to A. K. for the trouble she took about the dentist; I am ashamed of having caused so much bother. The dentist does not require a special pass because the prosecutor has already given permission and I did not even write to the dentist until I had received it. The day and time he comes does not matter. I cannot guarantee that I will not be absent—under interrogation, for instance—but I think the sooner he comes the greater the chance of avoiding that obstacle, which is not likely to occur in any case. I shall not write to Mr. Dobkovich (the dentist, assistant to Vazhinsky); he lives next to my former lodgings (Gorekhovaya, 59) and perhaps you will go to him and explain matters.

Regarding my own books, I have sent a list of those I should like to get.* Thanks for the books by Golovin and Schippel sent yesterday. From my own books I must add

* The book list has been lost.—*Ed.*

only *dictionaries*. I am doing a translation from the German* and would ask you to send me Pavlovsky's dictionary.

I was sent some underclothes, apparently not mine; they must be returned. When you are here you must ask them to bring you the underclothes and things I don't need—and I will hand them over.

I am quite well.

V. Ulyanov

I am very glad to hear that Mother and Mark are better now.

Sent from the remand prison
in St. Petersburg

First published in 1931
in Lenin's *Letters to Relatives*

Printed from
the original

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* It has not been established what translation this refers to.—*Ed.*

16

TO HIS SISTER ANNA

January 16, 1896

Yesterday I received your letter of the 14th and hasten to answer it, although there is not much hope of your receiving my reply before Thursday.[19]

I have already written about the need to return some underclothes that do not belong to me. I have got the things together and you must now *ask for* them when you are here, or tell whoever comes to ask for them in your name. I am not returning all of the things, because some are in the wash (perhaps you will ask somebody to get the rest later); I have allowed myself to keep, for the time being, a travelling rug that has done me excellent service here.

I have obtained information about the books; a small box may be left in the storeroom here.* It is not, of course, worth while sending all my books here. Some of the books in the list you sent me are not mine—for example, *Fabrichnaya promyshlennost*, *Kobelyatsky*—these are Alexandra Kirillovna's and I think I took another book from her. Then the publications of the Saratov Zemstvo[20] and the Zemstvo statistical reports for Voronezh Gubernia were lent me, I believe, by some statistician. Perhaps you will find out whether they can be kept for a time. It is not worth while bringing them here. *Pogozhev* and *Sbornik obyazatelnikh postanovleni po SPB* are not mine either, I think (could they be from the library?). The legal codes and

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* You can put a few clothes in there, too—an overcoat and suit, a hat. The waistcoat, frock coat and rug that were brought me can be taken back.

textbooks are obviously not needed at all. At the moment the only books I should like you to bring me are *Ricardo*, *Beltov*, *N.—on*, *Ingram*, and *Foville*. The Zemstvo publications (Tver, Nizhny Novgorod and Saratov) should be counted and be tied up in a bundle,* but do not bother to list them; I think you can also deliver that bundle to the storeroom. Then you will be finished with my books and not have to bother about them again. I shall be able to get the books from the storeroom (after they have been examined).

I am afraid I am causing you too much trouble. Please do not work too hard, especially in delivering books according to the list; there will be time for everything, and at the moment I have enough books.

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

Please add some pillow-slips and towels to the list of linen.

I am re-reading Shelgunov with interest and am busy with Tugan-Baranovsky; he has published a sound piece of research but his diagrams, those at the end, for instance, are so confused that I must confess I do not understand them; I shall have to get Volume II of *Capital*.

Sent from the remand prison
in St. Petersburg

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* together with the *Military Statistical Returns* and the *Summary*.

1897

17

TO HIS MOTHER

Ob Station. March 2[21]

I am writing to you once more while I am on my way, Mother dearest. The halt here is a long one and there is nothing to do, and I have decided to write yet another letter en route, my third. I still have two more days' journey ahead of me. I drove across the Ob in a horse-sleigh and bought tickets to Krasnoyarsk. Since traffic here is still "temporary", I had to pay the old rates, which meant handing over 10 rubles for a ticket and 5 rubles for luggage for something like 700 versts! The way the trains run here is beyond all bounds. To do that 700 versts we shall crawl for forty-eight hours. Beyond Krasnoyarsk, the railway goes only as far as Kansk, i.e., for 220 versts—and altogether to Irkutsk it is about 1,000 versts. And so I shall have to go on by road—*if I have to go at all*. Another 24 hours is taken up by those 220 versts on the railway; the further you go, the slower the trains crawl along.

You have to use a horse-sleigh to cross the Ob because the bridge is not ready, although its skeleton has been built. The crossing was not too bad—but I was able to manage without warm (or rather the warmest) clothing only because it was a short one—less than an hour. If I have to go to my destination by road (and I most probably shall have to), I shall obviously have to acquire a sheepskin coat, felt boots and even, perhaps, a fur cap (you see how spoiled I was in Russia! But how else am I expected to travel by sleigh?).

Despite the devilish slowness of the journey it has tired me far less than I expected. I may even say that I am hardly tired at all. I am surprised at this myself, because before

this a journey of some three days from Samara to St. Petersburg would wear me out. The fact of the matter most probably is that I sleep very well every night without exception. The country covered by the West-Siberian Railway that I have just travelled throughout its entire length (1,300 versts from Chelyabinsk to Krivoshchokovo—three days) is astonishingly monotonous—bare, bleak steppe. No sign of life, no towns, very rarely a village or a patch of forest—and for the rest, all steppe. Snow and sky—and nothing else for the whole three days. They say that further on there will be taiga, and after that, beginning at Achinsk, mountains. The air in the steppe, however, is wonderful; breathing is so easy. There is a hard frost, more than twenty degrees below, but it is easier to bear here than in Russia. It does not seem to me that it is twenty below. The Siberians say it is because the air is "soft", and that makes the frost easier to bear. Quite probably it is so.

In the train I met the *Arzt** that Anyuta visited in St. Petersburg. I learned a few things from him about Krasnoyarsk, etc., that will be useful to me. He said that I should definitely be able to stay there for a few days. That is what I think of doing, in order to find out what my position in the future will be. If I send a telegram "staying a few days" that will mean that the length of my stay is not known even to me. And so I shall wait there for the doctor,** meet him, and if I do have to go on to Irkutsk, we shall go together. According to that same person, I cannot expect any delay in my being appointed a place; most probably it has been decided already because the whole thing is arranged beforehand. And so, until next time.

Yours,
V. U.

Regards to all.

P.S. Accuse me of anything you like except infrequent letters! When *there is something to write about*—I write very often.

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* V. M. Krutovsky.—*Ed.*
** Y. M. Lyakhovsky.—*Ed.*

My talk with the *Arzt* has made very much clear to me (even if only approximately), and for this reason I feel quite calm; I have left my nervousness behind in Moscow. It was due to the uncertainty, nothing more. Now there is less uncertainty and I therefore feel better.

Written on March 2, 1897
Sent to Moscow

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18

TO HIS SISTER MARIA[22]

Manyasha,

I got your letter from the doctor and was very glad to have some news from home. I have received the bag Mother sent and think it will be very convenient. I shall probably take advantage of your proposal to make extracts from books in the Rumyantsev Library.[23] Yesterday I managed to find the famous local library belonging to Yudin, who gave me a hearty welcome and showed me his collection. He gave me permission to work in the library and I think I shall be able to. (There are two obstacles in the way; first, his library is outside the town, although the distance is short, about two versts, so it will make a pleasant walk; second, the library is not fully organised, so I may be a nuisance to the owner by making frequent requests for books.) We'll see how it works out in practice. I think the second obstacle, too, will be removed. I have not seen all his library by far, but in any case it is an excellent collection of books. There are, for example, complete sets of journals (the most important) from the end of the eighteenth century up to date. I hope I shall be able to make use of them for the information I need so much for my work.

I see from the newspapers that in the spring fast trains will be coming here—8 days from Paris* to Krasnoyarsk, which means six days from Moscow. It will then be much more convenient to correspond.

Yours,
V. U.

Written on March 10, 1897
Sent from Krasnoyarsk to Moscow

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* Obviously St. Petersburg was meant.—*Ed.*

19

TO HIS MOTHER

March 15, 1897

All this time I have been on the look-out for letters from you, Mother dearest, but so far in vain; enquiries at the post office tell me nothing. I am beginning to think that you have not written to me because you are waiting for the telegram I did not manage to send on arrival. In view of the great length of postage time between us (i.e., letters taking too long en route), you must write without waiting for an address. If I am sent away from here I will leave word at the post office for letters to be forwarded. So please write to me more often to the last address known to you—I am miserable without letters from home. All I have had is Manyasha's note, brought by the doctor.

Today I said good-bye to the doctor. He went on to Irkutsk. He was not allowed to stay here any longer, i.e., the local authorities would not allow it. So far I am not being troubled and I do not think they can bother me because I have sent an application to the Governor-General and am now awaiting a reply. Incidentally, it is not absolutely impossible that I, too, shall have to make that journey. In these parts the spring thaw is considered to begin from today and a journey by post horses becomes more expensive and more difficult. The weather is excellent, real spring weather. I spend my time here in two ways—first, in visiting Yudin's library, and second, in getting to know the town of Krasnoyarsk and its inhabitants (many of them exiles).[24] I go to the library every day and since it is two versts from the outskirts of the town I have to walk some five versts; it takes about an hour. I am very glad to have the walk and enjoy it, although it sometimes makes me quite

sleepy. There turned out to be far fewer books on my subject in the library than might have been expected from its general size; nevertheless there are some that are useful to me and I am very glad that I do not have to waste my time here completely. I also visit the town library, where I can see journals and newspapers that arrive here on the eleventh day after publication, but I cannot get used to such old "news". If I have to live a few hundred versts from here, the post will take still longer and it will be still more necessary to write frequently without waiting for a reply; if you wait for a reply it will be more than a month!

It is a great pity nothing is known about the party.[25] I have quite given up expecting a telegram from Anyuta and have decided that either she has not been able to find out anything, or that there has been a delay. I have heard that no more columns are to come here on foot, which means that the party will come by rail. If that is so, I cannot understand why they are being delayed in Moscow. Will it be possible to pass books on? Food? Letters? If these questions are not too late I should be very glad to get an answer to them from Anyuta.

March 16. I missed the post yesterday. The train for Russia leaves here late at night, but the station is a long way away.

Many kisses for you and my regards to everyone. Tomorrow, perhaps, I shall try at last to send off to Anyuta the books that were borrowed for a short time.

Yours,
V. U.

Did my letter with the address arrive? Just in case, I shall repeat it—Bolshekachenskaya Street, House of Klavdiya Popova. You may also write *Poste restante* and I will ask for letters at the post office. When I leave here, letters will be forwarded.

Sent from Krasnoyarsk to Moscow

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20

TO HIS MOTHER

March 26, 1897

At last, Mother dearest, I have received news of you and am very glad. First, I have received a telegram in answer to mine. I had inquired at the station but there was nothing there. The *Schwester** found your letter there later, and Anyuta's must, therefore, have been lost. Secondly, I got a telegram just after nine yesterday evening saying they were leaving, was overjoyed about it and ran headlong to the *Schwester* to share my joy with her. Now we are counting the days and are "travelling" by the mailtrain that left Moscow on the 25th. The last telegram I understood to mean that they are travelling at their own expense, otherwise it would not have been signed by Glob. I think he has also sent a telegram to his mother[26] in Chelyabinsk, otherwise he might travel past her while she is sitting and waiting for news! (The *Schwester*'s letter to her was posted not long ago, so she will probably not yet have left.) I am very thankful to Manyasha for her letter and for the extracts from letters received. I am enclosing herewith a reply to one of those extracts—let Manyasha deal with it as before. I count on exploiting her further for letter-writing and even for literary work. You may send me books and letters here; I don't know yet when they'll chase me out and whore to. It would probably be better to send them to the *Schwester*, and register the more important ones for there seems to be a terrible lot of carelessness at the post office here and letters, apparently, get lost (to that, I suppose, must be added outside hindrances**).

* A. M. Rosenberg, G. M. Krzhizhanovsky's sister.—*Ed.*
** A reference to the tsarist censorship.—*Ed.*

There is nothing new I can write about myself; my life goes on as usual. I stroll to the library outside town, I stroll in the neighbourhood, I stroll round to my acquaintances and sleep enough for two—in short, everything is as it should be.

Yours,
V. U.

I am sending Anyuta a list of those books I should very much like to obtain and which, it seems, can be bought only in the St. Petersburg second-hand bookshops, so you will have to write to the director* and ask him to do it or get somebody else to. I am very angry with myself for getting one name wrong (or rather, one year) in a letter from the remand prison, and making Anyuta travel about for nothing. Could not a search also be made in the Moscow libraries? Perhaps they are to be found somewhere.

1. *Yezhegodnik Ministerstva finansov*, St. Petersburg, 1869, First Issue.

2. *Statistichesky vremennik Rossiiskoi imperii*, published by the Central Statistical Committee of the Ministry of the Interior.

Second Series, Sixth Issue: *Materialy dlya statistiki fabrichno-zavodskoi promyshlennosti v Yevropeiskoi Rossii za 1868 god.* Edited by I. Bock. St. Petersburg, 1872.

3. *Statistichesky atlas glavneishikh otraslei fabrichno-zavodskoi promyshlennosti Yevropeiskoi Rossii s poimennym spiskom fabrik i zavodov.* Compiled by *D. Timiryazev.* Third Issue. St. Petersburg, 1873 (I found the first two issues here in Yudin's library. The original price of the three books was (1) 2 rubles, (2) 1 ruble and (3) 1 ruble 50 kopeks, but they are not on sale).

Sent from Krasnoyarsk to Moscow

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* S. I. Radchenko.—*Ed.*

21

TO HIS MOTHER

April 5, 1897

Today there was good news, Mother dearest, and I hasten to tell you about it. First, I received a telegram from the doctor in Irkutsk, "Hear you being sent Minusinsk". Secondly, A. M. has at last learned the Governor-General's reply—Gleb and Basil are also being sent to Minusinsk District. E. E. will be arriving tomorrow and will press for their release and also ask permission for them to travel at their own expense. I expect she will succeed (judging by precedents we know of).[27]

I am very pleased with my place of exile (if the rumours prove true, and I do not think they are wrong) because Minusinsk and its district are the best in these parts both on account of the excellent climate and the low cost of living. The distance from Krasnoyarsk is not very great, the post goes there two or three times a week, so that to send a letter and get an answer will take 30 to 35 days instead of the present 22 or 23 days—no more. I do not expect I shall be able to leave before the river is open to navigation, because the spring thaw and floods are now at their height. and the party on its way, to Irkutsk is being kept here until May. When the river is open to navigation it is possible to go to Minusinsk by steamer.

It is a great pity no attempt was made to get Anatoly Alexandrovich sent to Minusinsk District, too; it would be very, very good for him after the pleurisy he has had. We sent a telegram to St. Petersburg asking them to set things going; since there has been a delay of the whole party there is now ample time, so we may hope they will

be able to get him sent there if they tackle the job energetically.

For the time being letters should, of course, be sent to me at the old address; if I go away I will leave the new address and they will be sent on to me. I think you can send my books on now, without waiting for the final address; in any case you cannot send goods to Minusinsk (there is no carrier's office there), and they take a long time to come here by rail. So send them here, to A. M.'s address, if no other, or, better still, addressed to the bearer of the receipt, and send the receipt by registered post to A. M. From here the goods can be sent on to Minusinsk by boat in the spring.

They say that Gleb and Basil look very ill—pale, yellow and terribly tired. They will probably get better when they come out.

I am in good health and am living quite well; the weather is marvellous. I intend to write Manyasha a letter in a "literary" vein; I do not know, however, whether that intention will be put into effect. I have seen *Novoye Slovo*[28] and read it with great pleasure.

Regards to all,

Yours,

V. U.

Sent from Krasnoyarsk to Moscow

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22

TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA

April 17, 1897

Yesterday, Mother dearest, I received three of your letters. Today I collected some detailed information about the villages we are being sent to (officially I have not yet been informed of this[29]). I am going to the village of Shushenskoye (I think I spelt it wrongly in previous letters—Shushinskoye). It is a big village with more than fifteen hundred inhabitants, where there are the volost council, the office of the Zemstvo assessor (he is the same as a superintendent of police in Russia, but has greater powers), a school, etc. The village stands on the right bank of the Yenisei, fifty-six versts to the south of Minusinsk. Since the volost authorities are quartered there the post will be fairly regular—I have heard there is a post twice a week. You go by steamer to Minusinsk (the steamers do not go further up the Yenisei) and by horse transport the rest of the way. Today the ice broke on the Yenisei, so in seven to ten days the steamers will probably begin and I expect to leave at the end of April or the beginning of May. You can and should write to my present address,* because I shall leave a request to forward my letters when I go. I cannot, however, tell you exactly when I shall be going. Gleb and Basil are going to the village of Tesinskoye, also the seat of a volost council, etc., thirty-seven versts to the north of Minusinsk on the River Tuba (a right tributary of the Yenisei). A telegram about them was sent to the Police

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* I now receive all your letters regularly. The first must have been lost at the station where there is not much order.

Department today asking for permission for them to travel at their own expense. I hope the permission will be granted at the mother's request, she is ill all the time here, and then we shall go to Minusinsk together. I shall, therefore, spend the summer in "Siberian Italy", as the people here call the south of Minusinsk District. I cannot yet say whether this name is deserved or not, but people say that the Krasnoyarsk region is not so good. The environs along the River Yenisei of even this town, incidentally, remind me of Zhiguli or of Swiss scenery; I have recently taken a number of walks (the days were quite warm here and the roads are already dry) and have enjoyed them very much. I should have enjoyed them more if it were not for thoughts of our Turukhansk people and our Minusinsk prisoners.[30]

I live very well here; I have comfortable lodgings, and am especially pleased with the full board. For my work I have obtained some books on statistics (I think I have already written about that*) but I do not do much work; mostly I just roam about the place.

Thank Manyasha for her letter; I have given her so much work now that I am afraid she will get fed up with figures.[31] My books should be sent to Krasnoyarsk to be delivered to the bearer of the receipt (either by goods train or through a carrier's office, whichever is better) and I will then ask acquaintances to send them on to Minusinsk, and there again I shall have to look for acquaintances—there is no other way.

Why is Mitya thinking of going where there is plague?[32] If he is so anxious to travel and practice medicine I am ready to suggest a place at some resettlement centre. In Eastern Siberia, for instance. I have heard, *incidentally*, that a resettlement centre is to be opened in "my" village of Shushenskoye, Minusinsk District, Yenisei Gubernia.... So he is welcome. We can go shooting together—if only Siberia can manage to make a sportsman out of me, and if he does not find work (and shooting) for himself in places not so far distant.... Ho, ho! If in three weeks and a bit I have become such a Siberian that I am inviting people from "Russia", what shall I be like in three years? All

* See Letters Nos. 19 and 20.—*Ed.*

jokes aside, however, I really am surprised at his "plague" plans; I hope there will not be any plague, and that he will not have to go there.

Yours,
V. U.

Anyuta,

About books—how to send them, see above. What to send? If I get a fee of some 150 rubles[33] (perhaps in three doses, a teaspoonful every hour—every month, that is), then you can spend some on books. Then buy me the last three issues of *Promysly Vladimirskoi gubernii* (3 rubles 75 kopeks), *Vliyaniye urozhayev, etc.*, by Chuprov and Posnikov (5 rubies), *Ukazatel fabrik i zavodov za 1890 god*, St. Petersburg, 1894 (5 rubles?). I will give you further titles later—depending on the size of the fee, which need not be sent all at once (to the *Schwester*, of course). Write and tell the writer* that I should be very glad if he would let me have part of my fee, and if he would agree to send me books instead of money—Russian and foreign, some for review and others for myself. He knows the subjects I am interested in and he could send the books to you. I should be glad to take all sorts of things for translation and could distribute them among the people in Minusinsk and Turukhansk** (not very urgent), taking the organisation of the work upon myself and guaranteeing its timely and correct fulfilment. That, however, is something special, but I should very much like to arrange for the fees to be paid in books—*only if that will not be too much trouble for the writer****** (add this, word for word).

I think I shall have to subscribe to journals and newspapers—there probably will not be anything in Shushenskoye. Depending on available finances, you may subscribe to

* Here and further the "writer" (*écrivain*) referred to is P. B. Struve.—*Ed.*

** etc. Fedoseyev has been sent, I have been told, to the town of Kirensk in Irkutsk Gubernia.

*** I rely entirely on his choice, and this method of payment interests me because it is the only way for me to receive *immediately* important new publications; the timeliness of articles and reviews is very important in magazine work. If I must first find out here and then order by post, the delay will be five weeks, minimum (!!!).

Russkiye Vedomosti, *Russkoye Bogatstvo*, *Vestnik Finansov*[34] (without any supplements), *Archiv für soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik*.[35] That makes quite a lot, so they may be ordered only if there are big receipts. If money is short, *Russkiye Vedomosti* will, perhaps, be enough. You will see for yourself, especially when I write from Shushenskoye and inform you of my budget. (I believe you are angry with the *écrivain*; when you write to him in my name, do not show it. I bear no "*rancune*"* because of the loss of my last "literature".** It was not his fault at all.)

Send my best regards to the Bulochkins.[36] Why do you not write about them in greater detail? What sort of *finale* was there? Could there have been none at all? That would be excellent. If opportunity offers, give my regards to other acquaintances, the bookseller and others.

V. U.

I hope you will inform me beforehand when you intend to go to the West, so that I shall have time to write to you and give you many, many things to do for me.

Sent from Krasnoyarsk to Moscow

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* Grudge, malice (Fr.).—*Ed.*

** It is not known what this refers to.—*Ed.*

23

TO HIS MOTHER

Minusinsk, May 7, 1897

We arrived here, Mother dearest, only yesterday.[37] Tomorrow we intend to go to our villages, and I wanted to write to you in greater detail about our journey here, which proved to be very expensive and very uncomfortable (so there is no sense in your coming here), but I don't know whether I shall manage it because today I am quite worn out after the journey and tomorrow I shall probably be even busier. If I do not manage to write in greater detail tomorrow, I shall confine myself to what is written here, so that you have some news of me, and will postpone a detailed letter until I arrive at "Shu-shu-shu"... as I call the place where I shall eventually find peace.

Yours,
V. U.

Sent to Moscow

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24

TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER MARIA

May 18, 1897

This week, Mother dearest, I received two letters from you (dated April 20 and 24) and am answering the latter by the first post from here, which leaves this evening. Write and tell me when you get the letter from here, on which day, that is. Your letters took so long to reach me because they were forwarded from Krasnoyarsk and a lot of time was wasted sending them on. About finance—I do not remember your asking me twice (as you write in your letter of April 24), or perhaps I have forgotten it. As long as my finances were good I did not write. But before I left Krasnoyarsk (about the 26th or 28th), I sent a *registered* letter with a request for some money, which is probably now on its way here from, Krasnoyarsk[38]. Later, I also wrote from here saying that I should have enough for about a fortnight.

As far as concerns your idea of coming here only to beg a change of residence for me—it is really not worth while. First, I could probably obtain permission to move myself, if I were to set about it. Secondly, the village of Tesinskoye is hardly likely to be any better than Shusha. According to the preliminary information we gathered earlier, Tesinskoye is much worse than Shusha as a place, for the shooting, etc. Thirdly, the journey here is not so simple—I have already written about this and will write again today in greater detail to Manyasha; she accuses me (I am joking, of course) of "being horribly inhospitable". So far I have had no letters from Tesinskoye[39], but as I know nothing about them I shall not do anything; it is possible they will ask to be sent

somewhere else if Tes turns out in reality to be as bad as we have heard.

Shu-shu-shu is not a bad village. It is true it is in a rather bare locality, but not far away (one and a half to two versts) there is a forest, although much of it has been felled. There is no road to the Yenisei but the River Shush flows right past the village and there is a fairly big tributary of the Yenisei not far away (one or one and a half versts), where you can bathe. The Sayan Mountains or spurs from them are visible on the horizon; some of them are quite white, the snow on them probably never melts. And so we have something artistic here, too; it was not for nothing that when I was in Krasnoyarsk I tried writing verses "In Shusha at Sayan's foot..." but, unfortunately, I got no further than the first line!

I am surprised that you do not write a word about sending me the remainder of the books. It would be a pity if they have not yet been sent (I wrote about this a long time ago from Krasnoyarsk*). Now the steamers will be going as far as Minusinsk (the water is rising rapidly), so a bale can easily be sent here,. Later it will be difficult again, for the Yenisei has lots of shallows, and, high water will not last long. Perhaps, however, the books have been sent?

As for my complaints that you do not write very often, that is all a matter of the past and was due to the amazing (for us, who are unaccustomed to such things) delay in receiving answers to our letters, I remember I wrote about it a month or six weeks ago, so it must have referred to the letters you wrote at the end of March! I now receive letters more often than before and I do not think that they get lost because the loss of some would be revealed when the next were received. Apparently not a single letter has gone astray, except the first one that Anyuta sent to the station. Here in the village I shall have to work still harder at my correspondence, so it will be better if letters come more frequently from "Russia".

You say that "Anya says the reply to the editors has been read". I do not quite understand this. Did she read the reply herself or have the editors already had time to

* See Letter No. 20.—*Ed.*

read it? Does Anya know any details about the dispute with the editors, about the war against them by gold-prospector and company? Has she heard the "other side", i.e., somebody from the editorial office?[40] I am waiting for a letter from her. Have you subscribed to a paper for me? I have no papers at all here. They are also needed in Minusinsk since there is no reading-room there.

Regards to Mark. He never lets me know how he is. I can inform him and Mitya that the shooting here, apparently, is not at all bad. Yesterday I travelled about 12 versts to shoot duck and great snipe. There is a lot of game, but without a dog the shooting is difficult, especially for such a poor shot as I. There are even wild goats, and in the mountains and in the taiga (30-40 versts from here, where the local peasants sometimes go shooting) there are squirrel, sable, bear and deer.

I am sorry I did not take a waterproof. It is indispensable here. Could you send me one in a small parcel? I do not know when I shall next be in town or whether I should find anything suitable in such a town-cum-village as Minusinsk. Perhaps I shall also ask Mark (if there is any money) to buy me a good revolver; but so far, I do not see the need for it.

Yours,
V. U.

What news is there of Columbus?* I have heard that he is married and is ill. Do you know anything about him?

Anatoly and Yuly have again been put in prison; they did not want to leave before navigation begins and so the Governor-General ordered them to wait in gaol! The steamer for Yeniseisk is supposed to leave Krasnoyarsk some time after May 20.

May 18, 1897

Manyasha,

I have received the extracts you made. A big *merci* for them. I shall probably not be able to study them in detail

*I. Kh. Lalayants is referred to.—*Ed.*

until autumn, for at the moment I am mostly loafing around doing nothing. I cannot yet say whether I shall need anything else or what it might be.

As for my being "horribly inhospitable", I shall dispute that with you. Before one can be hospitable, i.e., receive guests, must one not first know where one is going to live? That is something I did not know when I was in Krasnoyarsk. The "Shu-shu-shu" that I hear and repeat cannot be called knowledge when I have no idea of how to get to that Shu-shu-shu, of what the place is like or how I shall live there, etc. And before being hospitable one must know for certain that the guests can reach you and be lodged, I will not say comfortably, but at least reasonably well. I have not been able to say this until very recently, that is, until the middle of May. You will most likely read my letter in June. This means that it will take the better half of the summer to pass on information and make preparations. Does this make sense? You have, of course, already learnt from my letter describing the journey by road that a trip here is quite a troublesome affair and rather unpleasant. It was a good thing that the weather was excellent—but what if there had been rain! The weather here is changeable in the extreme. Yesterday I went shooting. In the morning the weather was wonderful and it was hot, a real summer's day. In the evening a terribly cold wind sprang up with rain into the bargain. We came home plastered with mud and if we had not had *fur* coats would have frozen on the way. The local folk say that such happenings are not infrequent in summer and so they take fur coats with them *even in summer* when they travel.* Until I have settled down and looked the place over I ought not to invite people here.

In any case, if ever you do come here, I shall have to send a *telegram* from Minusinsk in advance to tell you whether steamers are going as far as the town and whether navigation is reliable. If not, it may happen that the steamer will take you only half way. The Yenisei forms numerous bars and shallows, so navigation as far as Minusinsk is very

* I am thinking of acquiring a half-length sheepskin coat for when I go shooting.

short-lived and you have to "catch" it. Even now I don't know for certain whether steamers are going as far as Minusinsk—I think they are, because the water is rising very fast.

Incidentally, about telegrams. Our "postman" (the one who serves our volost) is in Minusinsk on Thursdays and Mondays (the days the post arrives in Minusinsk). If you have to send telegrams, therefore, the best time is on Wednesday or Sunday, i.e., so that they arrive in Minusinsk on Thursday or Monday *morning*. Then I get them on Tuesday or Friday morning. Of course they can be sent for delivery by messenger on another day, but that is much more expensive and is only for emergencies.

In general I am very surprised that you are unwilling to go abroad. Can it possibly be more interesting to stay in some village near Moscow? If you *travel* to Moscow to take music lessons, can you not also travel to the nearest town from there? Incidentally, I think you will be reading this letter somewhere abroad.

All the best,

Yours,

V. U.

Send me all sorts of catalogues, especially of second-hand books, and especially of foreign books.

Sent from Shushenskoye to Moscow

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25

TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA

May 25, 1897

The day before yesterday I received your letter of May 5, Mother dearest, and am answering by the first post. I, too, am now wondering how it could have happened that I did not write for a long time at the end of April; I must have missed a day or two because of the fuss and bustle at that time, but after that I wrote very frequently, both before my departure from Krasnoyarsk and on the way here. From here I have also been writing frequently—every week. There really is nothing to write more frequently about; by the way, I answer all letters immediately, so I may sometimes have written twice in one week.

I have no information about the health of E. E. now—she must be better because no one at Tesinskoye writes anything about it. She was pretty badly exhausted by the journey, especially the road journey, and was anxious to reach the village and rest. I really do not remember your letter to her, addressed to me, I may have passed it on and forgotten it.

I simply roared with laughter when I read in your letter that Mitya, "the queer fish", is not coming here! I wrote that as a joke!* What sense would there be in his trekking a distance of 4,500 versts and losing a *month* (there and back) on the journey for the sake of the joys of Shu-shu-shu! I am sorry that you are so long in making up your mind

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* See Letter No. 22.—*Ed.*

what to do in summer because of me and are missing the best time and the best accommodation, etc.

It is a pity that the books were sent so late (if they have been sent—you write that you will be sending them "in a day or two"). I thought they were already on the way. I shall now have to find out when they will arrive in Krasnoyarsk. Probably not before the end of summer!

Life here is not bad, I go shooting quite a lot; I have got to know the local sportsmen and go shooting with them.[41] I have begun bathing; up to now I have had to go quite a long way, about two and a half versts, but soon I shall be able to go to a place about a verst and a half away. Such distances mean nothing to me because, apart from shooting and bathing, I spend a lot of time walking. I am longing for newspapers; I hope I shall soon be receiving them now that you have sent them.

I have had a letter from Basil in Tesinskoye. He says it is an awful place, quite bare, neither forest nor river near (there is one two versts away—too far for him!), no shooting and no fishing. And so, if anyone moves at all, they will have to come here, since there is no point in my going there. A. M. visited them for one day (May 14) from Krasnoyarsk; she came with a resettlement party, and then went back to Krasnoyarsk; she intends to go to Tesinskoye soon to live there.

Regards to all,

Yours,

V. U.

May 25, 1897

Anyuta,

I am very sorry to hear that your trip abroad is hanging fire because of me. I am fixed up here so well (certainly better than any of the other comrades) that there is no need at all for Mother to worry about me, and as far as a summer holiday is concerned I think that she can get a better rest abroad than in this place, since she would have to travel thousands of versts on all kinds of transport. By the way, I expect all this is superfluous now—meaning the "now" when you will be reading this letter.

At first I couldn't understand why you wrote in your letter, "*I repeat* that I do not show him, etc."[42]—but then I remembered that I had spoken to you about it, in Moscow or even, I think, in St. Petersburg. I had completely forgotten it—there was so much confusion there—otherwise I would not have spoken about it a second time. I imagine that the editor is up to his ears in work and for that reason does not give any but purely business information.* In view of this my request for books in payment of fees was probably out of place; how would he find time to bother about such a relatively troublesome business? If you have not yet written to him about this, please don't write. The fee I received for the first article will last me about a year, when added to my allowance[43]—and the remainder for the next two articles[44] I am thinking of using for journals and books. (I do not know how much you have already sent me; 30 or 40 rubles would be enough and the rest can go for journals.)

As regards journals, I have already written** (in any case I am repeating it, although I think that some of them, at least, have been sent here) that you should subscribe to (1) *Russkoye Bogatstvo*, (2) *Russkiye Vedomosti*,*** (3) *Vestnik Finansov* (from the beginning of the year), (4) *Soziale Praxis*, (5) *Archiv für soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik* (*herausgegeben von Braun*). I think I have also written partly about books, especially about *Ukazatel fabrik i zavodov*, third edition, St. Petersburg, 1894 (I think it costs 5 rubles) and the book by Chuprov and Posnikov on grain prices.**** If they have not been sent with the other books (which would be a pity because in that case they will be travelling about three months), then please send them by post as printed matter. These are the books (and also the

* He should send the journal directly to my address; tell him that. The money should be sent to you.

** See Letter No. 22.—*Ed.*

*** Perhaps you will calculate whether it would not be a saving to send me your copy when you have read it. If you arrange it to fit in with my mail days (we shall learn to do that soon), you would have to send them *only twice a week*. That means less trouble in sending them and much less expense than would be involved in sending them daily, which would be no less than the cost of the newspaper itself.

**** See Letter No. 22.—*Ed.*

Yezhegodnik if you managed to find it) that I need more than any others for my work. Please send me direct any particularly interesting new books, so that I shall get them quicker and shall not lag too far behind. By the way, if a report of the Free Economic Society's discussions on grain prices (in connection with the book by Chuprov and Posnikov) has been published, send it to me[45].

I am still thinking about the possibility of using a Moscow library; have you managed to do anything about it; i.e., have you managed to join some public library? If it is possible to take out books for two months (as you can in St. Petersburg at the library of the Free Economic Society) it would not cost very much to send them by post *as printed matter* (16 kopeks a pound, and you can send 4 pounds for 64 kopeks, and 7 kopeks to register them), so it would probably be more profitable for me to spend money on postage and have a lot of books than to spend much more money on *buying* a few books. I imagine that it would be much more convenient for me; the only problem is whether you can get books for such a long period (leaving a deposit, of course) from some good library—the University,* or the library of the Moscow Bar Association (you must get information from there, get their catalogue and find out the terms for the acceptance of new members, etc.), or some other. There are probably a number of good libraries in Moscow. You can even find out about private libraries. If any of you are staying on in Moscow they can probably find, out about all this.

If you go abroad, write to me and I will send you details of books from there. Send me more catalogues of all kinds of second-hand books, etc. (libraries, bookshops).

Yours,
V. U.

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* I think it would be easy for Mitya to arrange this either through some law student or by going straight to the professor of political economy and saying that he wishes to work in that field and take books from the central library. The only thing is that he will have to postpone it now till autumn.

As far as news from St. Petersburg is concerned I have almost lost all hope; there is nobody to expect a letter from, I've already given up hope of the director.

When you write to the Bulochkins send them my regards. They should send me their photographs in exchange for mine. How are their affairs going on?

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26

TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA

June 8, *alten Styls* (June 20)

The day before yesterday, Mother dearest, I received a letter from you and Manyasha from Warsaw. It was only from this letter that I learned that you had put an end to all your doubts and had set out on your journey. Excellent. I hope you will make good arrangements and will have a nice rest this summer. I don't know why you are afraid you will soon feel *Heimweh*.* If your trip is only for the summer? I doubt it. I shall continue writing as frequently as before and the extra three or four days the post takes, with Moscow at such a considerable distance anyway, will not mean much.

You have, of course, received all my previous letters from Shusha and now know that I am fixed up here quite well. I have been here exactly a month today and still say the same—I am very satisfied with my board and lodging and have even forgotten about the *Mineralwasser*** you mention and hope that I shall soon forget its name. I am now expecting visitors here—one of the comrades wants to come from Minusinsk and Gleb wants to come here for the shooting. And so I shall not be bored. Yuly left on May 27 for Turukhansk from Yeniseisk. Anatoly stayed there; the doctor who examined him on the instructions of the Governor-General found him weak. He will probably be sent to Minusinsk District now. Perhaps he will come here.

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* Nostalgia (Ger.).—*Ed.*

** Mineral water (Ger.).—*Ed.*

The doctor* was not sent to Yakutsk either. He is being sent to Kirensk.

Thanks to Manyasha for the postscript.

Kisses for her and for you,

Yours,
V. U.

Anyuta,

I think I have already written to you about the journals and newspapers. I am sorry I have not written to Mark. That oversight will probably cause considerable delay.

Send me more "literary manifestations" of all kinds—at least catalogues and prospectuses to begin with. The best thing is to write everywhere for them so as to obtain as many as possible. I should very much like to get the classics of political economy and philosophy in the original. It would be a good thing to find out the cheapest editions (people edition,** etc.), and the prices. You probably will not find very much except at second-hand booksellers'. However, I shall wait until I hear how you have fixed yourselves up and then there will be time enough to write.

Gleb sends you his special regards. They are all now living in Tesinskoye, A. M. as well (she has given up her job). They have had a lot of visitors recently, so they had a merry time. They write that they are fixed up quite well. I am still without newspapers. The May issue of *Novoye Slovo* for some reason has not arrived, either. Send me the newspaper you will be reading, or even the issues you buy casually. I can at least have a look at them.

Good-bye for the time being. Write more often.

Yours,
V. U.

Written June 8, 1897
Sent from Shushenskoye
to Switzerland

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* Y. M. Lyakhovsky.—*Ed.*

** Lenin wrote these words in English.—*Ed.*

27

TO HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW MARK YELIZAROV

June 15, 1897

In the last post but one, Mark, I received your letter of May 23. At last you, too, are getting down to the business of "spoiling paper"—that's fine. I hope that the "terrible boredom" you complain of will make you write more often—I should be very glad of it. Moreover we are in rather the same position. We are both living in villages and quite alone—true, I am a bit further away—and so we must make an effort to correspond more often.

It was news to me that Kokushkino is up for sale, and that Mitya has gone to Kazan to see about it.[46] Has he power of attorney to handle the estate? Write and tell me how the matter is settled. On the one hand it seems to be a good thing that it will be finished with once and for all, but on the other hand the "finish" is a most unpleasant, troublesome and, most likely, unprofitable one.

I have not only not received the box of books—I did not even know that it had been sent. Who was it sent to and when? To whom was the carrier's receipt sent? Write to me about all this. From Mother's letter I know that they intended sending it through a carrier's office. That means it will take a long time, probably two or three months. If any new books were bought to be sent with the others, please let me know (if you remember) what they were, because I do not risk ordering any at the moment, thinking they are already on the way.

I have begun receiving *Russkiye Vedomosti* and read it with a voracity that can be explained only as a reaction to the long absence of newspapers. Has anything else been

ordered? (*Russkoye Bogatstvo*, *Vestnik Finansov*—in Rybkina's[47] name; German publications). I receive the newspapers on the thirteenth day after Wednesday and Saturday. That means that the post from Moscow here leaves on those days; bear that in mind in case you have to make any calculations about sending things.

The day before yesterday I received the report of the Society for the Organisation of Popular Entertainment.[48] Thanks.

I have not yet received a single letter from our people abroad. On account of their travelling they probably had to wait a long time between my letters and wrote to me less often. I do not know how to write to them now. It would hardly be convenient to write to Demo and I have no new address. The last time I wrote to Mother was a week ago, the same time as I sent you a postcard. Today I shall not write a special letter to her, but please send this letter on to her so that she will not worry and will have some news of me.

It would not be a bad thing if Mitya, on his return, were also to take up paper-spoiling. I have not yet given an answer to his "theoretical" letter; the fact of the matter was that I was so absent-minded when I was in Moscow that I did not remember anything of what he told me about the question that interested him. I could not gain a completely definite impression from his letter—first, because it was too short and, secondly, because I have here no Russian translation of the book he quotes and cannot get the necessary information.

All the best,

Yours,

V. U.

P.S. I am thinking more keenly and more often over the idea of arranging for parcels of books to be sent here from some capital-city library; I am at times beginning to think that without that arrangement I shall not be able to carry on literary work here; an outside stimulus is very necessary and I have absolutely nothing of the sort here.

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28

TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER MARIA

July 19, 1897

Yesterday, Mother dearest, I received your letter and Manyasha's dated the 29th. *Merci* for them.

Because of the exceptionally long time our letters take, answers to questions arrive so long after they are asked that many of them turn out to be unnecessary. In this letter, for instance, you are still worrying about money and the bale of books—it is now, of course, a long time since you received my letter explaining all that; I received the money a long time ago, I did not draw it for some time because I did not need it and because nobody came from A. M. I still have not received the bale of books; I do not know if it has arrived in Krasnoyarsk (it was expected there at the end of June), and from there it will be brought by someone coming here whom I expect shortly. To send it from Krasnoyarsk by post would probably cost quite a lot because the post is not sent by steamer but by rail to Achinsk and from there by road to Minusinsk.

Similarly you also must know by now not only that Mark has received an offer to go to St. Petersburg, but also what decision he has made; he wrote me that he was awaiting an answer from you from abroad.

I received your letter with details of the Kokushkino business and have already answered it. Yesterday, too, I received the first letter from Mitya in which he, too, described his trip to Kazan.

As far as hygiene is concerned, I do not think I am any worse off here than you are in Spiez.[49] I also bathe (some-

times twice a day) in the Yenisei, take walks* and go shooting. It is true that there are no decent walks near here, but for shooting we sometimes wander a long way, and there are some nice places.

Yesterday I received news from Tesinskoye about a wedding—Basil and A. M. I am invited to be best man.[50] It will not take place very soon, of course.

I am very sorry about Pyotr Kuzmich!** Your letter was the only news I had heard of him.

Kisses—and please do not worry about me.

Yours,
V. U.

I have received a letter from the doctor from Verkholensk (Irkutsk Gubernia), where he has been sent. N. Y. Fedoseyev has also been sent there.

Manyasha,

You ask me to describe the village of Shu-shu-shu.... Hm! Hm! I think I did describe it to you once. It is a big village with several streets, rather muddy, dusty—everything as it should be. It stands in the steppes—there are no orchards or greenery of any kind. The village is surrounded by dung, which the people here do not cart to the fields but dump outside the village, so that if you leave the village you always have to pass through a certain amount of dung. There is a stream called the Shush right beside the village; now it is very shallow. At about a verst or a verst and a half from the village (or rather from *me*—the village is a long one) the Shush joins the Yenisei which breaks up here into a large number of streams with islands between them so that there is no way of reaching the mainstream on foot. I bathe in the biggest stream, which is now also very shallow. On the other side (the opposite direction from the River Shush) there is, at a distance of about a verst and a half, what the peasants quite seriously call "the pine grove"; it is really a very poor bit of woodland, in which

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* I wear a net to protect myself from the swarms of mosquitoes we have here. And they say this is nothing compared with the north!

** Pyotr Kuzmich Zaporozhets.—*Ed.*

most of the trees have been felled so that there is no real shade (but a lot of strawberries!); it bears no resemblance to real Siberian taiga which I have as yet only heard about but have never been in (it is at least some thirty or forty versts from here). Mountains ... when I wrote about those mountains I was very inaccurate, for they are *about 50 versts* from here so that you can only look at them, when they are not hidden by clouds, in exactly the same way as you can see Mont Blanc from Geneva. Because of this the first (and last) line of my poem contains a sort of poetic hyperbole (the figure is used by poets!), about "Sayan's foot".* I can give only one answer, therefore, to your question about which mountains I have climbed—the sandhills in the "pine grove", so called—and in general there is plenty of sand about here.

My work is progressing very, very slowly.** I do not know whether I shall need any extracts from books. I hope that by autumn I shall make an arrangement with some Moscow or St. Petersburg library.

I read with pleasure your description of life abroad and, your impressions from there. I should be glad if you would write to me more often.

Your plan to send "a pood of cherries" here, over a distance of six thousand versts and a bit, made me open my mouth in amazement (not from a desire to gorge myself on cherries—there aren't any here but there will be water melons) at the richness of your imagination. What are our chemists, compared with this!

Yours,
V. U.

Sent from Shushenskoye
to Switzerland

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* See Letter No. 24.—*Ed.*

** This refers to Lenin's work on *The Development of Capitalism in Russia.—Ed.*

29

TO HIS MOTHER

August 17

The day before yesterday, Mother dearest, I received your letter of July 29 (August 10) and also a letter from Manyasha.

I am surprised that you are always saying that I do not write often; for a long time, as far as I remember, I have been writing every week and sometimes twice a week—with every post, that is.

I am also beginning to wonder about the box of books; since I received information from Krasnoyarsk at the end of June that the books should arrive about that time and that a further 9 rubles would have to be paid on them, I have heard nothing more, although I immediately (July 1) sent two letters to Krasnoyarsk about the books, one of them with money.* An acquaintance who had promised to see about my books has turned out to be irresponsible in the extreme and does not even answer my letters.** I have written a postcard with a pre-paid answer to Popova, perhaps she will reply. It is a most annoying business! The worst of it is that they do not even write, do not inform me of the state of affairs! Has the carrier's office been holding it up? The scoundrels probably do not even guarantee to deliver goods in time, nor accept responsibility for delays, do they?

Anyuta also writes about the loss of your letters (by the way, I have received Gumplowicz and *Archiv* from

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* The letters have been lost.—*Ed.*

** It is not known who this was.—*Ed.*

her—my thanks for the two books). I do not know which letters have been lost, I always acknowledge those I receive. One letter was lying about for some two months in Minusinsk, as I wrote before. I then wrote a complaint to the Minusinsk post office and enclosed the envelope of that letter as documentary evidence.* If registered letters or packages by book post are lost, you must keep the receipts and absolutely must demand compensation; that is the only way to teach these Siberian Ivan Andreiches[51] to be careful.

There is nothing I can write about myself. The letters are short because life is very monotonous; I have already described the appearance of things from the outside; inwardly day differs from day only because today you are reading one book, tomorrow you will read another; today you take a walk to the right of the village, tomorrow to the left; today you write one article, tomorrow another (I have now been distracted from my main work by writing an article[52]). I am perfectly well, of course, go shooting now and again. The weather is nasty—wind, cold, autumn rain, so I stay at home most of the time. Probably there will be some fine days in September. I intend going to Minusinsk to buy myself a few things—a lamp, some things for the winter, etc. I am thinking of going with Prominsky.

Thank Manyasha for her letter. She wrote asking me what I should like from abroad; Mitya, she says, wants a steel watch.... Hm! Hm I have a watch and it still keeps time, but an alarm clock would be (or, rather, might be) very useful because here I sleep far too much and have probably not only made up for the sleep I lost in the remand prison but have badly overdone it.... Only how will you send it here?... Unless you wait till someone comes....

It is quite clear that Anyuta, as long as she lives in the country, cannot fulfil my requests for books. If she should chance to be in Berlin or Leipzig on the way back, then perhaps she will be able to. I have already written that the writer has agreed to my request to send me books, and that

* The letter has been lost.—*Ed.*

I have received several from him (and shall probably receive more in future)—which means that I am well enough off in this respect and as yet do not experience any shortage.

Kisses for you and my sisters,

V. U.

Written August 17, 1897
Sent from Shushenskoye
to Switzerland

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30

TO HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW AND HIS SISTER MARIA

September 7

I am sending you a registered package, Mark, containing my article.* Please send it on to the writer as quickly as you can (it is already late) together with the enclosed letter to him.[53]

At last, on September 5, I received *Novoye Slovo* for June. I am afraid another copy will come from you—what should I do with it?

The next half of this letter is for Manyasha, from whom I received a letter dated 18 (30) August postmarked Lausanne. I hope our people are all borne again by this time.

All the best,
V. U.

I read in *Russkiye Vedomosti* that the statisticians in Tula have not been confirmed.[54] Was the Chicagoan among their number? Why did he not answer my second letter sent through Manyasha from Krasnoyarsk?**

What is the library situation like?

September 7, 1897

Manyasha,

On September 5 I received your letter of 18 (30). Thanks. That was an excellent idea to take excursion tickets to see all Switzerland.

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* *In case of emergencies*, and for a check, let me tell you that it consists of 130 numbered pages.

** The Chicagoan—V. A. Yonov. His correspondence has been lost.—*Ed.*

I am very glad that you have begun to enjoy being abroad. What are your plans for the winter? You are probably busy now searching for an apartment. The problem of finding accommodation in a big city is a difficult and tedious business! You are probably running around searching, if Mark and Mitya have not yet found anything for you.

Mother's letter, in which she spoke about her petition, I received and answered immediately.[55] The efforts made by Gleb and Basil to get transferred to Minusinsk have not come to anything although they were very energetic about it.[56] I am not trying to get a transfer and so far do not intend to; I have no complaints to make about Shu-shu-shu and I do not like that state of uncertainty when you start making applications, get excited waiting for a reply, keep getting ready to leave and so on.

Well, all the best. I have not written much because today I am late with the despatch of my article and am in a great hurry. Kiss Mother.

V. U.

Sent from Shushenskoye to Moscow

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31
TO HIS MOTHER

September 30

I am writing to you from Tesinskoye, Mother dearest, as I promised. I arrived here yesterday evening. It took us a long time to get here because there were three of us (Basil, I and a boy I took with me) with our luggage on a one-horse cart, and the horse a lazy one at that.

The Tes people* are well fixed up. They have an excellent flat in a big two-storey house (in Shusha there are no such houses), the best in the village. They have the entire top floor, four good rooms with a kitchen and an entrance hall. The rooms are big, light, and clean with high ceilings and the furniture is good—in short, an excellent apartment for six rubles a month. Gleb now has a job of some sort. Thanks to this they have been able to manage and the financial crisis is over—there was, however, a time when things were tight. A. M. has taken a job as a nurse in the village of Sagaiskoye, several dozen versts from here in the same district. She will probably not keep the job for long because her health will certainly not permit her to continue such work and she is expected to return in a month. Gleb does not look too well, he is always poorly and gets irritable. Basil is flourishing. E. E. feels quite at home in the family and is doing all the household chores; she had a hard time in the summer and even now it is not easy for her, as she has to do all the work herself. It is impossible to find servants here. In summer you cannot get anyone, even tem-

* G. M. Krzhizhanovsky, his mother, and V. V. Starkov.—*Ed.*

porarily. At the moment there is a woman who comes in and helps with the work.

We all went shooting together today. The weather is excellent and we are enjoying ourselves. I have permission for five days and will leave on Friday or Saturday—straight back to Shusha, about 70 versts from here.

I received a letter from Mark quite a while ago (dated September 12). I am awaiting news of how he finished up his "liquidator's trip" to Kazan. He wrote to me, among other things, about a dog. In Shusha I have a mongrel pup and hope to have it as a gun dog next year. It would cost a mint of money to bring a dog here from Russia. He also asks about my book—it is still frozen. When I get back to Shusha I hope to get down to work more seriously and will then write in greater detail. Kisses for you and Manyasha.

Yours,
V. U.

Everybody here also says that I have put on a lot of weight this summer, am sunburned and look like a real Siberian. That is what shooting and village life do for you! All the Petersburg ailments have been shaken off!

All the people in Tes send you, it goes without saying, lots of greetings.

Written September 30, 1897
Sent from Tesinskoye to Moscow

First published in 1931 in
Lenin's *Letters to Relatives*

Printed from
the original

32

TO HIS MOTHER

October 12, 1897

On the 7th, Mother dearest, I received a letter from you and Mitya dated September 20. I was in a great hurry last time and, as I remember, did not write much. Today I must make up for it.

Thanks to Mitya for his letter. In answer to his questions—I am receiving *Voprosy Filosofii i Psikhologii* for 1897 and have also received one issue for 1896 and will send it when I have read it (for the time being I have given it to the people at Tesinskoye).

I still go shooting. The shooting is not as successful as it was (shooting hares, grouse and partridge is new to me and I shall have to get used to it), but it is no less pleasant. Whenever there is a fine autumn day (and this year there have been many of them) I take my gun and wander off across the fields and forest. Usually I go with Prominsky; I take my landlord's dog, which I have trained to follow me, and which has some (although not much) skill as a gun dog. I have acquired a dog for myself—I got a pup from an acquaintance here and hope that I shall be able to train it by next summer; I don't know whether it will turn out a good dog and whether it will have any hunting sense. I don't know how to spot that kind of thing, and no very definite opinion of the qualities of my Pegasus can be had from his pedigree. The quilted jackets we all had bought for us in St. Petersburg are very convenient for shooting and I can never praise mine enough. In general, as far as my winter clothes and other things (which you ask about) are concerned, I have ample. I have already

bought many winter things in Minusinsk and will buy some more. In general, shopping in Minusinsk is difficult; there is practically no choice, the shops are the village type of general store (all sorts of odds and ends; goods are delivered periodically and I got there at a time when the old stock had run out and the new had not arrived) and it is difficult for one accustomed to city shops to find anything in them. Incidentally, it is high time I got rid of these big-city habits; they are of no use here and I must get used to local ways. I seem to be fairly well acclimatised, but as far as shopping is concerned I still think in the St. Petersburg way—you have only to go into a shop and get what you want....

I will tell you about my journey in greater detail. I was in Minusinsk for two days only and all the time went in running round the shops, in seeing about Basil's case (we wrote a complaint together about the magistrate's sentence and the magistrate himself admitted that it was too severe.[57] We'll see what the higher court has to say) and in visiting acquaintances. There are now many political exiles in Minusinsk—A. V. Tyrkov (the March 1, 1881 case), N. S. Tyutchev and Y. K. Yakovlev (Narodnoye Pravo group), S. I. Melnikov (Narodnaya Volya Party), Blazejewski (Polish worker), S. G. Raichin (my closest acquaintance and a man of the same views), F. Y. Kon (Polish intellectual who has served a sentence of penal servitude), and Stoyanovsky (arrested in connection with the Ginsburg case and has served a sentence of penal servitude). I saw almost all of them. I think I shall be able to go there again in winter. Such temporary visits are probably better than living in Minusinsk, which does not attract me. Its only advantage is the post (this advantage is even greater in Achinsk, so I would naturally "prefer" Achinsk). But this is only by the way, for I have settled down completely in Shushenskoye and have got used to the idea of wintering here and am not applying for a transfer and advise you not to.

I went to Tesinskoye with Basil. We had a good time there and I was very pleased to see the comrades and to have company after my Shushenskoye solitude. That company, however, seems to be worse off than I am. Not as far as lodgings, etc., are concerned, in that respect they are better

off, but they are not adjusted. Gleb is often quite ill, is often despondent; Basil, too, it seems, is not so "flourishing" after all, though he is the most balanced of the Tes crowd. E. E. does the housekeeping, enjoys life at Tesinskoye, but is also often ill. Keeping house is not easy for her since there are no servants; it is extremely difficult to find a servant in the Siberian villages—in summer it is absolutely impossible. You can live well if you are fixed up as I am with full board and lodging, but keeping house yourself is very difficult. The Tes people live much more "sociably" (so to speak) than I do; they are acquainted with the district nurse in Tesinskoye and not far from them (about 15 versts) there are some former women students whom they see quite often.[58] I have not lost hope that their despondency will pass. Gleb and Basil now have jobs[59]; they could not live without work, for the allowance they receive is only 24 rubles (the authorities won't give Basil an allowance for his wife because he got married while in exile).

Again about the library. Which library did Mitya get the *Voprosy Filosofii i Psikhologii* from? If he got them from the Petrovskaya library, can he get their catalogue (a new one)? I think they lend books for an indefinite period.

Yours,
V. U.

I am perfectly well, of course; I am working, I feel fine. The doctor (from the north) asks me to give you his regards.* (I correspond with him and Columbus fairly regularly.)**

Sent from Shushenskoye to Moscow

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* A. P. Sklyarenko.—*Ed.*

** The letters have been lost.—*Ed.*

33

TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER MARIA

October 19, 1897

I received Manyasha's letter of September 29th, Mother dearest, on October 14; it told me about the delay of my letters to Mark.* I must admit I was afraid of this before, when I knew that Mark was leaving. The delay, however, was not very great, so small, in fact, that the manuscript I sent reached its destination in time.[60]

I am still living as usual, in peace and quietness. The weather is getting wintry, we have long since sealed ourselves up behind double windows, keep the stove going, etc. The real cold is still to come, of course, and so far there have been mostly autumn days when it is pleasant to stroll through the forest with a gun. I shall probably continue that exercise through the winter. Shooting in winter, going after hares, for instance, is no less interesting than it is in summer, and I regard it as one of the important advantages of rural life.

I usually get the magazines in the first half of the month. I am now reading the September issues with interest. Soon I hope to get some information from the editors about the article I sent. If it is accepted I shall subscribe to a few more magazines-I think I had better do it through the same editorial office, so that there is no more muddle and I don't get the same copies twice.

I am awaiting news of the arrival of Anyuta, Mark and Mitya.

Yours,
V. U.

I had a letter recently from Yuly. He writes that he had moved to a new flat, much better than the old one,

* See Letter No. 30.—*Ed.*

and is now fixed up so comfortably that he has been able to work for the past month; he has written something and sent it off. We shall see how he will stand the winter in Turukhansk. Anatoly has found work, temporarily.[61]

Manyasha,

Merci for the letter. Why do you keep saying that I should write more frequently? Do you think I do not write often as it is? You say yourself that you now receive two of my letters at a time—what more do you want?

Up to now I have not received the *L. G.** and *Bulletin*. I do not know the reason for the delay. If you happen to be near the shop in which you ordered them, look in and hurry them up.

Buy me *Programmy domashnego chteniya na 3-i god sistematicheskogo kursa*; it costs 50 kopeks at the warehouse in Nikitskaya Street, Rikhter House, apartment 3. (I read about this book today in *Russkiye Vedomosti* and want to see what it is like. It is probably to be found in other bookshops besides that warehouse.) And subscribe for me to the new monthly publication *Izvestiya knizhnykh magazinov tovarishchestva M. O. Wolfe*, 35 kopeks *a year* (Kuznetsky Most, 12, Moscow). I want to see what sort of publication it is. In general I have nothing that gives me bibliographical information and which will tell me about new books. If you are interested in this publication, subscribe to it in your own name and send it on to me afterwards. Its programme is so extensive and the price so low that one cannot help thinking there may be some catch in it. We'll see.

I recall that either Anyuta or you wrote to me about having sent the second issue of Mehring. I have not received it. It is quite possible that the first got through by chance.

All the best,

V. U.

Sent from Shushenskoye to Moscow

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* *The Labour Gazette.—Ed.*

34

TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTERS MARIA AND ANNA

December 10, 1897

According to my estimate, Mother dearest, this letter should arrive by Christmas. I have decided to send it off by the first post and not wait until Sunday (I am used to writing to you on Sundays). I have received a letter from Gleb in which he says he has submitted an application for permission to come to me for ten days during the holidays. I hope lie will get permission. It will give me great pleasure. They have written from Tesinskoye that Zinaida Pavlovna has been sentenced to three years' exile in northern gubernias, and that she is asking to be sent to Minusinsk District.* I believe Nadezhda Konstantinovna** intends to do the same, although her sentence is not yet properly known; it will probably be very much the same.

I kiss you warmly,

Yours,

V. U.

I hope that Mitya will be free by the time you receive this letter. They are not likely to hold him long.[62]

Anyuta,

I am now reading the French translation of Labriola's *Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History*. It is a very sensible and interesting book.*** The idea came to me

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* Zinaida Pavlovna Nevzorova.—*Ed.*

** Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya.—*Ed.*

*** For Lenin's opinion of the book see *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 486.—*Ed.*

that you ought to translate it. (The original is in Italian and Kamensky in *Novoye Slovo* says that the French translation is not very good. You would, of course, have to get the original.) The book is in three parts: (1) In Memory of the Communist Manifesto, (2) Historical Materialism (the biggest part) and (3) Appendix: The Manifesto of the Communist Party (translated into French by Laura Lafargue). It goes without saying that only the second part is suitable for translation, and *not all of that* (I have not yet finished reading it). If something is left out, it will not by any means detract from this extremely clever defence of "our doctrine" (Labriola's expression). I am writing to St. Petersburg this very day to find out whether the writer proposes using this material for the journal. You can either get his opinion from N. K. (I am writing to her) or propose directly to him that you start the translation.[63]

V. U.

Manyasha,

I received your letter of November 24 and the second issue of the Vyatka *Returns*. Earlier I received the *Ulozheniye* and *Ustav*[64]—I do not remember whether I acknowledged them.

You say that "goods for Minusinsk are *still* not being accepted from Moscow". Perhaps they will soon be accepted. Mark could probably find out. Books are no longer urgent. Perhaps you can send them with someone coming at Christmas or with the girls* who intend to come here (I am writing to Mother about them) or, eventually, with someone else. If things are sent to Krasnoyarsk the delay is, in any case, tremendous. If any book is needed for work, I shall write and it can be sent by post. We had better wait a while before using the carrier's office.

Savchenko's book, it seems, is Peskovsky's.

Programma domashnego chteniya has arrived; I have looked at it, it is dull and I do not want to write a review.

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* The girls are Nadezhda Krupskaya and Zinaida Nevzorova.—*Ed.*

Wolfe's little publication starts quite well and is fabulously cheap.

I have ordered Seignobos. I do not intend to order Ziber yet. If I get some money I shall probably order it, too. Kalmykova's bookshop gives me a discount of 15 per cent, so I order books from there; it is convenient, too, because it saves you trouble.

All the best,
V. U.

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35

TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTERS MARIA AND ANNA

December 21, 1897

I received your letter of December 5 the day before yesterday, Mother dearest. I am very, very glad that there is a hope of Mitya's business being cleared up. In any case it is obvious that it is mainly a misunderstanding and that there can be no question of anything serious. You ask me whether I received a package sent on November 16—what package do you mean? If, in general, it is possible to send things to Minusinsk you should address them to me direct, because my letters go through Minusinsk Post Office anyway and I have given our postman power of attorney to collect my mail.

I seem to have got mixed up over all these packages you have sent or intended to send me. Have you sent anything to Popova in Krasnoyarsk? I think not, but just in case I will ask an acquaintance who is going there soon (from Minusinsk) to make enquiries.*

I am in no hurry for books. I now have so many that I cannot manage them all, let alone more.

Yours,
V. U.

Manyasha,

I received your postcard of December 2 and the two Semyonov volumes. *Merci* for them. I shall send them back

* It is not known who this acquaintance was.—*Ed.*

soon, not later than a week from now (I am afraid our postman will not go for the mail at all on Wednesday 24th).

These first two volumes proved to be without interest. Such things are, of course, inevitable when you order books you know nothing about, and I was prepared for it beforehand.

I hope at least that we shall not have to pay any fine—they will extend them for another month.

I did not understand your sentence "To get into the jurists' library—I asked Kablukov about it—you must be a jurist and submit two recommendations from members of the Society of Jurists". Is that all? You do not have to be a member of the society yourself? I shall try to get a recommendation through St. Petersburg.

I know for a fact that one does not have to be a jurist to join the society.

All the best,
V. U.

Anyuta,

Merci for your letter of December 5 and for the list. It is a pity you took so much trouble copying it a second time. I seem to have expressed myself badly about the accounts; it stands to reason that it is of interest to me to know results—plus or minus so much—and not those details that caused you so much trouble and nevertheless mean nothing to me.*

It is strange that they do not send me any accounts from the office of the journal. I am shortly sending something else[65] there. I shall have to put a note in with it (when I send the manuscript) asking them to send an account of the fees and expenditure on the journals, etc. It seems that I have overstepped the mark through not knowing exactly how much I own.

It seems that there was some misunderstanding between us about my question concerning how the project for the

* This apparently refers to financial settlements for literary work.—*Ed.*

journal got into the hands of our acquaintance;[66] I understood that it came from you, and now I see quite well that it did not. It stands to reason that what I said about my first assumption does not hold now that the opposite has been proved. Oh, that Yegor! I'll give him what for.

The photos, including the group, have still not arrived.[67] I have written to Nadezhda Konstantinovna but have not received a reply. Should I write to Yuly's sisters?

By the way, I received a letter from Yuly dated October 29 (sic!). He writes that he lives reasonably well, they have all moved into one house (this is much more convenient and cheaper and the meals are more easily arranged at the expense of their one and only "lady"), they have received their allowances so he is looking and feeling better and is not a bit despondent. Our poet friend* should be coming to me soon for the holidays, if he does not let me down again. Anatoly is still worried about his wife who has been locked up in Yeniseisk (for three months), the cells are cold and she has been taken ill.[68] A bad business! It would have been far better for her to have done her term in Russia!

Fedoseyev and Lyakhovsky have not written a word. The devil knows what's happening where they are.

I should like to have Saint-Simon and also the following books in French:

K. Marx. *Misère de la philosophie*. 1896. Paris. 3 frs 50

Fr. Engels. *La force et l'économie dans le développement social*. 2 frs 50

K. Marx. *Critique de la philosophie du droit de Hegel*. 1895. 1 fr

all these are from the "bibliothèque socialiste internationale" where Labriola came from.

All the best,

V. U.

Sent from Shushenskoye to Moscow

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* G. M. Krzhizhanovsky.—*Ed.*

36

TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER MARIA

December 27, 1897

The money has arrived, Mother dearest, both the first and the second lots (i.e., of November 16 and December 8). We are now receiving our allowance regularly, too, so that in this respect things have returned to normal and I think for a long (relatively long) time no emergency additions will be necessary.

Gleb has now been living with me for several days, having obtained permission for a ten-day trip here. We are having an excellent time and do a lot of walking because the weather is mostly very warm. Ever since one day, when the frost was said to be 36° R (about ten days ago) and after a few days of snowstorm ("of weather", as the people here say), the days have been very warm and we go shooting very zealously but without much luck. What shooting is there to be had here in winter! The walks are pleasant, though. Because of the holidays there was no outgoing mail on Wednesday this week and no incoming mail on Friday; this is the third time since I have been living in Shusha that the mail has missed a turn—that is not very often. Thanks to my guest, I scarcely notice it.

Many kisses,

Yours,

V. U.

I am sending an article of mine for the journal. It would be good if you could pass it on quickly; perhaps you will be in time for the January issue.[69]

Gleb sends his regards. He asks you to tell Manyasha that he expects he will have a lot to argue about with her.

Manyasha,

Do not work so hard, Manyasha, over Stange; it is quite probable that I was mistaken. How could I remember after so many years! You have found one article so we may consider ourselves lucky. It has even occurred to me that the second was not in *Ekonomichesky Zhurnal* but in *Severny Vestnik* for 1891 (at least I recently came across a reference to that effect somewhere). In any case there is no need to go through *Ekonomichesky Zhurnal* up to 1895.

As far as concerns your visit to me—I shall be very glad. Things are different now and I have no particular reasons for objecting. If you wait for a steamer up the Yenisei you can travel without any particular discomfort. It is quite possible that Nadezhda Konstantinovna will also come to me; the matter will probably be settled soon, and may even have been settled by the time you are reading this letter. If she is allowed to choose Shu-shu-shu as her place of exile instead of the north of Russia, she will not, of course, be allowed to put it off until spring but will have to travel at once.

Best wishes,
V. U.

I recall that Mark once wrote to me asking if he should get a gun dog for me in Moscow. My attitude at the time was very cool since I counted on my Pegasus, but he has let me down badly. I would now be in hearty agreement with such a plan, of course, but as far as I can see, it is purely Utopian and would not be worth the trouble. The transport is very expensive. Gleb gets fantastic ideas—why not take a little pup and bring it in a basket! We had a good laugh over that plan, which is, of course, little better than any other. It was simply that Mark let his imagination run away with him; from this postscript you can see what petty problems sometimes engage the attention of the inhabitants of Shu-shu-shu and Te-te-tes.

Sent from Shushenskoye to Moscow

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37

TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW

January 4, 1898

I have received, Mother dearest, your letter of December 15. One mail delivery was missed this week (January 1), so I do not know the outcome of Anyuta's efforts.[70] It is probable, however, that the outcome is favourable because if the case has already gone to St. Petersburg it means that it is a petty one and there is no reason for any great delay.*

You need have no fears about my big coat. With my winter suit (which we all brought with us from St. Petersburg) it is quite enough *even for travelling* (and I very rarely have to travel). For walking it is too warm and I wear a quilted jacket—there have been a couple of cold days (yesterday and the day before) but they are the exception. Altogether, the winter here is exceptionally warm. Nor is there any need to be afraid of my going shooting; there is no danger. Now, by the way, there will be an end to all shooting, probably until spring.... (The money has arrived, the first and the second lots, both for the same sum.)

It is 55 versts from Shusha to Minusinsk, in winter there is a shorter road—50 versts.

Gleb left here the day before yesterday, after a stay of ten days. There was a real holiday this year in Shu-shu-shu and the ten days passed unnoticed. Gleb liked the place and said that it is much better than Tesinskoye (I said the same thing about Tes! I made fun of Gleb by saying that anywhere is better than where we are), that there is forest near here (in which it is good to walk in winter) and an excellent view of the distant Sayan Mountains. He was

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* See Letter No. 34.—*Ed.*

enthusiastic about the Sayans, especially on a clear day when the sun is on them. Gleb, by the way, has become very fond of singing, so my silent rooms grew merry during his stay and fell quiet again after he left. But he has no music and no songs. I think we had a lot of that rubbish (from the times when we also used to "bawl"). If nobody needs them any longer it would be a good idea to send them to him; he would be very glad. Basil is the musician (on the guitar) and would rearrange them for him. Gleb's health improved somewhat during his stay with me due to the regular life and plenty of walking; he was much livelier when he left.

I think I have already written that Nadezhda Konstantinovna intended asking to be sent here (she was sentenced to three years in the northern gubernias). If that plan is carried out it will afford a good opportunity for books, music and everything.

Kisses,
Yours,
V. U.

January 4, 1898

Mark,

I have received your letter of December 16 in which two interesting announcements with theses were enclosed. I must admit that the prohibition of the lectures by Tugan-Baranovsky and Struve did not very greatly surprise me since the latter's article on the same subject was cut out and the theses were perfectly clear. I did not understand, however, which minister banned the lectures. But, of course, it does not take the St. Petersburg government departments long to get in touch with each other[71]....

I was very surprised to learn that the Chicagoan is in St. Petersburg. The last time I heard of him it was said (or rather, written) that he was somewhere in the Caucasus. So he has a job now. He does not answer my letter and I suppose I shall have to stop expecting him to; he is probably very busy now at his job, and with his perpetual journeyings could have forgotten it a dozen times over. I'll manage without him. How did you find him? How

is he looking (not in the physical sense) and what does he plan to do? What contacts has he made and is he thinking of resuming his attempts at literary work? (Perhaps Anyuta will write and give me answers to some of these questions, as many [answers, that is] as she can, so I am probably wasting your time asking you.) By the way, have you written to him about my last request (I wrote to Manyasha about it)—to inform H. Braun about permission for a translation?*

The lecture (Lozinsky's) is really a masterpiece of foolishness.[72] If P.B. does not write about it in the home news,[73] send me the issue of *Trudy Volno-ekonomicheskogo obshchestva* containing it—if it is easy to find. He should be put in his place beside Mr. Yuzhakov. If you send the lecture buy me at the same time the verbatim report of the discussion in the Free Economic Society, 1896, on the currency reform. Some Narodnik, it might even have been Lozinsky, also distinguished himself on that occasion.]

What have you heard about *Syn Otechestva*?[74] I wrote to St. Petersburg that they should subscribe to it for me if it is worth the trouble.** It is interesting because of the Narodniks on its staff. Do you ever see that sheet?

All the best,
V. U.

P.S. I have a gun dog again, a setter. A friend brought it from town. We'll see how it turns out, whether it will live till spring (it is still very young and I am again afraid it will get distemper). It has one disadvantage—it is of the female estate....

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* It is not known what translation is referred to.—*Ed.*
** The letter has been lost.—*Ed.*

38

TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA

January 24, 1898

I have received letters from Manyasha and Anyuta and also two books—Semyonov (Vol. III) and *Yuridichesky Vestnik*. Many thanks to Manyasha for the latter. I have also received Basil's photograph

Please buy me the books—Kablukov, *Lektsii po ekonomii selskogo khozyaistva*, and V. V., *Ocherki kustarnoi promyshlennosti* (1 ruble 50). The latter may perhaps be found second-hand; the former was recently issued for students and Manyasha can probably get it for me even if it is not on sale (as is possible, judging from the absence of advertisements in *Russkiye Vedomosti*).

I have nothing new to say about myself. It is pleasanter now three of us go shooting together—we are having real spring weather; it is even thawing today.

Nadezhda Konstantinovna has been given reason to hope that her three years' exile in Ufa Gubernia will be changed to two years in Shusha[75] and I am expecting her and Yelizaveta Vasilyevna.[76] I am even getting lodgings ready—the next room in the same house.* If other guests come in summer we can take the whole house (the owners will move into the old log cabin in the yard), which would be much more convenient than our setting up house here ourselves.

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* An amusing competition is going on between us and the local parson, who is also asking our landlady for a room. I am protesting and insist that she wait until my "family" affairs have been finally settled. I still do not know whether I shall be able to get rid of my rival.

What I do not know is whether N. K.'s case will be settled by spring; it is said that we shall get an answer in February, but so far that is only a rumour.

It is most annoying that Mitya's case is dragging on so long; it will be unpleasant for him if he has to lose a year. Still, he will probably be allowed to enter another university or to take his examinations as an external student.*

Yours,
V. U.

I am enclosing a letter to Columbus.**

Anyuta,

I have read in the newspapers about the publication of your translation of de Amicis's book. If you have any spare copies please send me some. On what terms did you do the translation? Was there a contract with the publisher, and what sort?

My head is now fall of plans to issue my articles as a separate book.[77] A few days ago I received N. Vodovozov's *Ekonomicheskiye etyudy*, and that gave me the idea. It would be very inconvenient to publish the article about the handicraftsmen as a separate pamphlet. It would be far better to print it together with the Sismondi article. It could then be published without preliminary censorship (10 printer's signatures are needed for that and these articles will make about 12—about 200 pages, that is), which is much more convenient. It could be given the title of *An Assessment of the Romantic Doctrines of Narodism*. Such a book would be more interesting and varied. The main question, in my opinion, is whether the censors will permit the reprinting of an article from a suppressed journal. I should imagine they will permit it, as it is an abstract article and was published a long time ago, long before the journal was suppressed. I am also writing to N. K. about this—she should ask the writer's opinion. I do not want to wait until their new plans are put into effect. The articles are actually not very suitable for a journal, as they

* See Letter No. 34.—*Ed.*
** The letter has been lost.—*Ed.*

are too long. Let the other articles that I think it would be dangerous to include in the book (they would not be allowed) and not very suitable (they are of a different character) go for the journal. The article about handicraftsmen is quite mild and full of figures. As far as the financial side of the business is concerned I think it is much more favourable than the censorship side of it. Assuming that the price is a ruble fifty kopeks and only a thousand printed* we can allow 500 rubles for the publication and the same sum each for the booksellers and the author. The sale of 500 copies would cover costs, and that number is certain to be sold.

The question is who will undertake the publication. There is no one to be relied on in St. Petersburg. Would not Mark undertake the publishing job (buying paper, contract with the printer) and Manyasha the proofreading?** If that plan can be put into effect I will immediately send corrections to the article on Sismondi (it must be broken up into §§ and some important misprints need correcting). If you agree, *telegraph* me "send corrections". I calculate that the book could come out in April, if not sooner.

It seems to me we should try ourselves and not wait for the plans of the *Novoye Slovo* people, who move at a snail's pace. And, besides, it is a pity for me to write for nothing—I must earn something, too. The objection may be raised that the articles are quite different in character, but I do not think there is anything wrong in that; Vodovozov's are also different in character, and, in general, such collections of articles are published. There is, moreover, something common to them both; they are a criticism of Narodnik economics—one is abstract and the other uses Russian data. Please answer me as quickly as possible about this—can the plan be carried out or not? If it can, we must start on it without losing time.

N. Y. F. does not write to me and does not even answer, although I have written him two letters.*** Scold him for

* If 2,000 copies are printed the price may be reduced to 1r. 25k.

** The proofs will not be very difficult since half the book is a reprint and the other half from a manuscript I have rewritten in a fair copy.

*** The correspondence between Lenin and Fedoseyev has been lost.—*Ed.*

that if you write. I have heard of the "scandal" in Verkholensk—some disgusting scandal-monger has been attacking N. Y.[78] No, don't wish me comrades from among the intellectuals in Shushenskoye—I'd rather not! When N. K. arrives there will be a whole colony anyway.

Regards to all,

Yours,

V. U.

Sent from Shushenskoye to Moscow

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39

TO HIS MOTHER

February 7, 1898

Yesterday, Mother dearest, I received letters from you and from all the family dated January 22 and 23 and was very glad to get them; I send you my thanks for all the good wishes. I guessed, of course, that you would write to Nadezhda Konstantinovna and invite her to visit you; it is to be hoped she will be allowed to. I still know nothing about her transfer to Shu-shu; she keeps writing that it will be settled "in a day or two", but it is still dragging on. Now, however, we probably shall not have to wait long for a final decision.

As to what you should send with N. K.—I think you should give her a real load of books since we do not know whether there will be an opportunity in summer. Manyasha intends going abroad (and that, of course, is a bit more interesting than Shu-shu and the Siberian mosquitoes), and you will probably go off to Kokushkino with Mitya.... It's bad that in two and a half months he has already begun to look puffy. First—does he stick to a diet in prison? I suppose not. In my opinion that is essential. Second—does he do physical jerks? Probably not, either. Also essential. I can at least say from my own experience that *every day*, with great pleasure and profit I did my gymnastics before going to bed. You loosen up so well at times that it makes you warm even in the worst cold, when the cell is like an ice-well, and after it you sleep better. I can recommend to him an exercise that is very convenient (even if funny)—bow to the ground 50 times. I set myself that stint and was not embarrassed when the warder watched me through the peephole and was

amazed that a prisoner who had never expressed a desire to attend the prison church should suddenly have become so pious! He must bow not less than fifty times without bending his legs and must touch the floor with his fingers each time. Tell him that. Most of these doctors, you know, only talk about hygiene.

I have already written something about clothes. I do not need any underclothes except socks. As for the local tailors, I do not place much hope in them. It is very inconvenient to get clothes made in Minusinsk; one has to go there. There is a tailor here who makes clothes for everybody (he told me so today), including former political exiles, even for all the priests (he boasted to me of that). Although it all sounds very impressive, you had better buy ready-made clothes in Moscow and give the material you have to Mitya or Mark. One thing I do ask you for in particular—a pair of moleskins, because I tear my clothes terribly when I am out shooting. If my straw hat is still in good shape (it's a Paris hat, after all, the devil take it!) she should bring it. Prominsky, as a matter of fact, has begun making hats (sometimes they look like felt boots!) but they are suitable only for spring and autumn and not for summer. The only other thing is—kid gloves, if they can be bought without knowing the size (which I doubt). I have never worn them, either in St. Petersburg or Paris, but I want to try them in Shu-shu-shu in summer as a protection against mosquitoes. I can wear a net over my head but my hands get badly bitten. Gleb assures me that the local mosquitoes bite through gloves but I do not believe him. The gloves have to be suitably chosen, of course, not for dances but for mosquitoes. Then I need some paper, *ruled in squares*; I do not suppose there is any in Minusinsk—anyway I do not need much, about four quires with squares of different sizes from the smallest to the largest.

Anyuta asks when the wedding is to be and who we are "inviting"! Isn't she in a hurry! First of all Nadezhda Konstantinovna has to get here, and then we have to get permission from the authorities to marry—we are people without any rights at all. So how can I do any "inviting"?

As far as concerns *verbalisme* and *phraséologie* it seems to me that they should be translated as verbalism (with an

explanation) and phraseology.... That, of course, is not really translation but simply transcription, but what else can you do? "Dilettantism" is quite wrong for verbalism—almost the opposite, in fact. Verbalism is probably closer to scholasticism, i.e., to superfluous (pseudo) learnedness, than to dilettantism. But I don't remember exactly how Labriola uses these words.

Merci for Bogdanov. I have read half of it. Very interesting and to the point. I am thinking of writing a review.[79]

In reply to Manyasha's questions: what sort of voice has Gleb? Hm, hm! I suppose it must be baritone. He sings the things that Mark and I used to "bawl" (as Nanny[80] used to say).

The next question—will Paris go to her head? Very likely. She has now seen for herself what it is like abroad and can judge. I lived only one month in Paris, did very little work and spent most of the time running round to see the "sights". It is not clear to me either whether Manyasha wants to go to study or for the summer only.

Thanks to Mark for his letter. He must not, however, forget Gogol's "Ivan Andreiches".[81] I do not know what progress has been made in Russia, but here in Siberia they are doubtlessly flourishing, and they are interested in other things besides knowing whether a government official is arriving and whether the young ladies are on the way. I am surprised that you have not even heard about *Syn Otechestva*. I saw in *Russkaya Mysl*[82] today (the issue of November or December 1897) that the newspaper declares itself a Narodnik organ *pur sang*.*

Till next time.

Yours,

V. U.

The real cold has now arrived, so we have given up shooting and only go for walks—in the forest, though. My lodgings are warm, however, and my clothes still warmer.

Manyasha should send Nadezhda Konstantinovna the list of books I should like to have—she will look for them in St. Petersburg, if, of course, it is not too late by now.

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* Genuine (Fr.).—*Ed.*

If we have any other children's picture books let N. K. bring them for Prominsky's children.

A. Semyonov. *Obzor istoricheskikh svedenii o promyshlennosti i torgovle*. Three volumes. An old book, published in the fifties or sixties, or even earlier.

Sbornik svedenii i materialov po vedomstvu Ministerstva finansov. St. Petersburg, 1865, No. 6.
1866, No. 4 and No. 5.
1867, *No. 6* (*June*) especially.

Materialy po opisaniyu promyslov Vyatskoi gubernii. Five issues. Vyatka, 1880 (Manyasha already has the second issue).

Vasilenko. *Promysly selskogo naseleniya Poltavskoi gubernii*.

Svod svedenii ob ekonomicheskom polozhenii selskogo naseleniya Yevropeiskoi Rossii. St. Petersburg, 1894. Published by the Office of the Committee of Ministers.

Shcherbina. *Ekonomicheskiye otnosheniya v raione Vladikavkazskoi zheleznoi dorogi*.

Bezobrazov. *Narodnoye khozyaistvo Rossii*.

Trudy obshchestva selskikh khozyayev yuzhnoi Rossii (those issues for 1895 that carried articles by Mr?? Perhaps Borinevich?... on suburban farms near Odessa).

Ragozin. *Zhelezo i ugol na yuge Rossii*.

Mendeleyev. *Tolkovy tarif*.

Yuridichesky Vestnik, 1887, Nos. 11 and 12.

Lyudogovsky.... (? *Osnovy selskokhozyaistvennoi ekonomii*? or something like it. I do not remember the exact title. A book published in the 70s.)

Statistical tables compiled in the Statistical Division of the Council of the Ministry of the Interior according to the data of 1849-52.

Statistichesky vremennik Rossiiskoi imperii. Series I, Issue 1, St. Petersburg, 1866.

Vremennik Tsentralnogo statisticheskogo komiteta. 1894, No. 34 (average grain and potato harvest for 1882-92).

Vremennik Tsentralnogo statisticheskogo komiteta. 1889, Nos. 10 and 12.

Vremennik Tsentralnogo statisticheskogo komiteta. The issue for 1897 (one of the last issues) which carried the processed data of the army-horse census of *1893-94*.

(See the catalogue or the list of publications of the Central Statistical Committee.)

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40

TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW

February 14, 1898

I have received a book (Bulgakov[83]) from Manyasha, Mother dearest, and thank her for it. She asks whether I received a registered package sent by Anna on December 27.* It is difficult for me to remember now because it was a long time ago. I remember that I received some foreign catalogues and *Neue Zeit*.[84] Manyasha's letter is dated January 26, so it is quite possible that my answer to the letter of December 27 had not reached Moscow by then.** I received Bogdanov's book before that; I liked it very much and have written a review.*** Bulgakov's book is not too bad, either, but I do not like the chapter on turnover and his formulation of the question of the foreign market is not quite correct. I was, of course, very pleased to receive it.

Again our allowance is being delayed—owing to the new year. Another piece of news—a new chief of police has arrived from Yeniseisk (it is the one who wanted to take the shotguns away).[85] He does not seem to have done anything to distinguish himself yet. For some unknown reason Prominsky has had his allowance reduced from 31 rubles a month (he has five children) to 21 rubles—seven people cannot live on that sum in Shusha and his hatter's business (that is his trade) is not a going concern here. Another

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* I have received *Neue Zeit* No. 3.
** See Letter No. 38.—*Ed.*
*** See Letter No. 39.—*Ed.*

comrade* went to see a doctor in Minusinsk and has been admitted to hospital there.

It is still very, very cold here; the Siberian winter intends to make itself felt after all. But I seem to have got fairly used to the frosts, and do quite a lot of walking every day.

Yours,
V. U.

Did you send N. K. money to subscribe to *Vestnik Finansov*? I did not expect it at all (because I asked her to subscribe only in the event of my finances being in a brilliant state) and now I get it from her as I always did.

Today I am sending Anyuta the books from the library and the technical reports by registered post.

Mark,

Nadezhda Konstantinovna writes that the writer has proposed either to look for money for the publication of my articles or a publisher for them, and for this reason she will not take the manuscripts away from him. I answered that she should take them and send them to you because one can "look" for many years, and, indeed, who would willingly go to so much trouble. I shall start on the corrections to Sismondi in a couple of days without waiting for your answer to one of my earlier letters and as soon as they are finished I shall send them to you.[86] (The writer's proposal is important to me only because it shows the feasibility of this enterprise from the standpoint of censorship, which is actually the only thing that interested me.) As regards my other manuscripts, with the exception of the article on handicraftsmen,**[87] do not think they should be included, first, because they are of a different character, suitable only for a journal, the subjects are polemical and of temporary interest, and, secondly, because it is not worth the risk.

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* O. A. Engberg.—*Ed.*

** That is, the articles on the "heritage" and on Yuzhakov. The note on Mikulin's book is, of course, absolutely unsuitable for inclusion in the book.[88]

When you receive this letter you should be able, I think, to begin negotiations with the printers (in the plural, because you will probably have to seek and haggle) and look for a shop in which to buy paper. While these preliminary searches are going on I shall send the corrections, and you will then be able to go straight on with the printing. It seems to me important not to waste time, so that the book can come out in April.

All the best,
V. U.

I think the article on Sismondi had better go first, followed by the handicrafts.

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41

TO HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW

February 18, 1898

Today I am sending you, Mark, the corrections to the Sismondi article by registered post. There were fewer corrections than I expected—only the misprints and the division of the article into chapters (two) and paragraphs. It is to be expected that the compositors will find it much easier to work from a printed text, so there will be fewer mistakes and less proof-reading to do (but the proofs *absolutely must be read*). The magazine pages I am sending can go straight to the printers, but give them *strict* warning not to lose them* (they usually do lose manuscripts) and that each time they should send the *original* (manuscript or magazine page) *together with the proofs*; without this it is *terribly difficult* for a stranger (not the author) to correct them (I know this from my own experience) and there will be many unpleasant misunderstandings and mistakes. I hope Manyasha will find time to undertake the proof-reading. In general, it is very important for the proofs to be read by one person from beginning to end, otherwise there will be a muddle because of the signs the proof-readers use, and, furthermore, they usually forget, when subsequent proofs are received (there must be at least two), to verify whether the mistakes indicated in the first proofs have been corrected and whether fresh mistakes were not made in correcting the old ones. Accurate printing and an elegant edition are very important.

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* If it has to be torn up into separate pages (printers usually do that), number them all with special numbers to prevent losses.

The article (together with this letter) will arrive at the very beginning of March and if you set about the printing immediately and carry it out without delay, and if you hurry the printer, you may manage to finish it and present it to the censor by Easter. That would be very good; the sale of the book will probably be much slower if it does not come out until May. I am awaiting news from you on the way things are going.

I have been thinking a lot about the other two articles (on the "heritage" and on Yuzhakov); on the one hand, caution tells me that they should not be printed, but, on the other hand, it is a pity to abandon them, especially the second.... The fact is that it analyses a book and not a magazine article.... Perhaps we should try? If experienced people had not decided that it was impossible I should not have been averse to trying. We should have to cross out a few places recalling the defunct journal* (I have no rough copy of the Yuzhakov article, so the publisher will have to do it. It is not a big job), and then place them at the end, so that if they are removed (in case the authorities demand it) it will not spoil the preceding articles. If you estimate the cost of the publication at 40 rubies a printer's signature, the loss on those two articles (together four signatures) would not be so great. In any case the book should not be delayed on account of them.

If they have not yet sent you the manuscripts from St. Petersburg, write an urgent letter to Nadezhda Konstantinovna to send them immediately and start printing what I send today.

All the best,
V. U.

Please hand or send the enclosed letter to N. K. She asks me to write to Moscow now, since they will probably be moving her soon.

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* This refers to the journal *Novoye Slovo*, suppressed by the tsarist government in December 1897.—*Ed.*

42

TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER MARIA

February 24, 1898

Today, Mother dearest, I received a pile of letters from all parts of Russia and Siberia and have therefore been in a holiday mood all day.

From Manyasha and Anyuta I received their letters of February 9 and also *Yuridichesky Vestnik*[89] and *Statisti-chesky Vremennik* and also the *Dnevnik syezda* (of technicians).[90] Thank you for everything. The last-named was very interesting and thank Anyuta very much for it. She writes that the book by de Amicis is a children's book. I did not know that, but even children's books will be useful here, for Prominsky's children have nothing to read. I even thought of doing a thing like subscribing to *Niva*.[91] That would be very nice for the Prominsky kids (pictures every week), and for me a complete edition of Turgenev in 12 volumes as promised by *Niva*. And all this for seven rubles, including postage. Very tempting! If only Turgenev is published decently (that is, without distortions, cuts, clumsy misprints), it would be well worth while subscribing. Have any of our people seen the *Niva* supplements for past years? I think they issued Dostoyevsky? Was it decently done?

I now expect to set my money affairs right, since the book edition of the articles should also bring in something whatever happens, and, moreover, I am getting a big translation from English (from St. Petersburg)—Adam Smith—and I shall get something for that.[92] I shall then be able to pay off my debts (I must not forget them). That is why I think it is also possible to subscribe to *Niva*. Whether Turgenev

will be "decently" published, our people must decide, they have more facts to go on.

Today I received *Russkoye Bogatstvo* No. 1 for 1898. I have been receiving *Vestnik Finansov* for a long time.

I shall have to ask you to send a smallish sum of money by N. K. (there will be no need for it earlier. The allowances were paid today), since there may be some fairly big expenses to meet. That means that my debt will increase slightly.

Things here are still the same—no news, no visitors and still no acquaintances.

Anyuta writes that N. K. has written to her saying that a publisher has been found in St. Petersburg. She wrote to me only that they had "promised to look for one". We may have an amusing muddle; the plan was evolved in St. Petersburg *independently* and prior to my letter, and mine was also independent, prior to the receipt of the St. Petersburg letter. And so we are dancing round each other like people who have bumped into one another in the street and do not know whether to step left or right to allow their vis-à-vis to pass.

The matter has probably settled itself by now.

Kisses for you and regards to all.

Yours,
V. U.

I understood from Manyasha's letter that both books (*Yuridichesky Vestnik*, 1887, No. 12, and *Statistichesky Vremennik*) had been bought and would not have to be returned.

N. K.'s case is still dragging on. She will probably have to drop the claim for a shorter term, but they do promise to permit her to come here.

I am enclosing a letter to her because she may now be in Moscow. If not, send it on.

Manyasha,

Send me, in addition, the following things:

(1) Hardmuth pencil No. 6 (Anyuta bought me one last year and I liked it very much, but it has now, unfortunately, served its time).

(2) A box of sealing wax and some sort of a seal to seal my letters. (If we have not got an old seal, either buy or order a cheap one.) There is no need for a name on the seal, even initials are not necessary, as long as there is some sort of a figure or drawing on it that is easily remembered and described to others.

(3) *essuie-plume** } I had both of these but, alas,
(4) small scissors } they got lost somewhere on the road. In place of the former I am now using the skirt of my jacket and have inked it up beautifully. The scissors I get from the landlord—sheep shears. Their advantage is that they always arouse laughter and general amusement.

Au revoir,
V. U.

Sent from Shushenskoye to Moscow

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* Pen-wiper (Fr.).—*Ed.*

43

TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW

March 1, 1898

I am still waiting for news, Mother dearest, of Mitya's release, but it is a long time coming.

I am quite well and life goes on as usual. Even winter at last seems to be coming to an end. We have got very tired of it here. Today and yesterday there has been real spring weather.

I am enclosing a letter for N. K. in case she has not yet left, and a business letter for Mark on the other side of the paper.

Yours,
V. U.

Mark,

I have received some information that compels me to change my original plan to publish the book in Moscow.* The writer informs me that censorship conditions in Moscow are impossible. Bulgakov's book (about markets) was held up for a year by the censors! That is something quite unbelievable! If that is the case we cannot even think of Moscow; we must turn all our attention to St. Petersburg. The writer has every chance of publishing it at the moment but he wants to delay it till autumn (wrongly, in my opinion). As regards financing the edition, I think we can raise "an internal

* This refers to the publication of *Economic Studies and Essays*. —*Ed*.

loan" from Mother, because the book will certainly pay for itself.

This information has put me so much off my balance that I have nothing to propose. You will probably be seeing N. K.; talk to her about it and come to a decision. To make a "decision" from here means writing, writing, writing, and all for nothing, without knowing anything, depending on guesswork, etc.

Yours,
V. U.

I hope you have not had any more unnecessary trouble over this unfortunate business. (N. K. writes that she has not sent the manuscripts.) Awaiting your answer.

Sent from Shushenskoye to Moscow

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44

TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA

March 8, 1898

This week, Mother dearest, I do not think I have had a single letter from you. From this I gather that Mitya is still inside, and that is very sad.

I do not know now whether this letter will find N. K. in Moscow. In case she is still there I am adding one forgotten request. Send me one of our sets of chessmen; it turns out there are some players among our comrades in Minusinsk and I have once already recalled old times most enjoyably. I was wrong in thinking Eastern Siberia an outlandish place where no chessmen would be needed. There are all kinds of places in Eastern Siberia.

Life goes on as usual. From Tesinskoye they write that E. E. has had her allowance stopped—"mothers are not regarded as members of the family" (a new interpretation!). They have also reduced Prominsky's allowance from 31 rubles to 19 a month. Anatoly has at last "rescued" his wife after a lot of trouble. Yuly writes from Turukhansk that he is living tolerably well—not the kind of fellow to lose heart, fortunately.

Yours,
V. U.

I am enclosing a letter for Nadezhda Konstantinovna.

Please send me as much money as possible with her; if she has already left, send it to Yelizaveta Vasilyevna's address. There may be fairly heavy expenses, especially if we have to set up house for ourselves, so I am going to make my debt a good round sum and raise another internal loan. By autumn I shall probably receive enough for my translation to cover my debts—*I believe more than five hundreds.**

* The italicised phrase is in English in the original.—*Ed.*

Anyuta,

I should like to ask you to get me some English textbooks. I asked for something to translate and have received the Webbs'[93] big book. I am afraid I may make mistakes.

I need (1) an English grammar, especially *syntax*, and especially a section on idioms. If N. K. has not got a Nurok (I think she had one but I do not know if it was hers), send me yours (or Manyasha's) at least for the summer, unless you (or Manyasha) need it. The only thing is that I do not know whether Nurok will give enough on this question. If you could get a good textbook of English it would be a very good thing.

(2) A dictionary of *geographical* and proper names. They are very difficult to translate and transcribe from English and I am very much afraid of making mistakes. I do not know whether suitable dictionaries exist. If there is no information in *The Book about Books* or in some other reference work or catalogue, perhaps there is some other source from which you could find out.

If you have a chance to find out and to get something (in this case I do not grudge money, for the fee will be a large one and I must make a good job of the first attempt)—but there is no need to take any particular trouble; I shall get the German translation and will be able to refer to it.

Yours,
V. U.

What do you think about summer? Will Mitya be allowed to go to Kokushkino? Are you thinking of staying there or not?

Moscow is a rotten town, isn't it? It is a rotten place to live in and a rotten place to publish books in—so why stay there? I really was surprised when Mark informed me that you were against moving to St. Petersburg.

Sent from Shushenskoye to Moscow

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45

TO HIS MOTHER

March 14, 1898

I have received, Mother dearest, your letter of February 28. I did not expect you to return from Kazan so soon. A few days ago I got a letter from there from Alexander Ivanovich which greatly surprised me. He says he is now working, that Nikolai Ivanovich is in St. Petersburg; and that they are living in the same place in Kazan.[94] I must make up my mind to answer it some time. I know nothing about his health—it is difficult to draw any conclusion from his letter; if he is the same as he used to be, it will be difficult for him to go to work and it will not be easy for him to make a living, either.

If books can be sent by express on the railway and the charge is the same as for a slow train, it is, of course, better to send them that way. The thing is when and to whom to send them? It is risky to send them to Achinsk, for Nadezhda Konstantinovna to take them on with her from there; they may be delayed and get left in Achinsk. They will most likely have to be sent to Krasnoyarsk again and wait for someone coming from there. I shall probably be able to find someone more easily now.

With regard to being transferred from here, I am not so far thinking of it. In my opinion it would be premature. I shall wait until Nadezhda Konstantinovna arrives and see how things turn out. I am not writing to her today because I hope that she will have left Moscow by the time this letter arrives. If, despite my hopes, she is still there when it comes, please tell her that yesterday I received the German

translation of Webb (it is a great help to me—I could not have managed without it) and *Vestnik Finansov*.

There is no need to worry about my health—I am now quite well.

We are now having fine weather, the sun is getting appreciably warm and the roads are beginning to deteriorate. Winter, however, retreats very reluctantly here and there is still a long wait ahead for the warm weather.

You will probably receive this letter about April 1, or only shortly before. I offer you and Manyasha my best wishes on the occasion of your name day. I hope Mitya will definitely be out by Easter.

Yours,
V. U.

From Manyasha I have received *Moskovskiye Vedomosti*,[95] at first one issue (I forget which)—there were no interesting articles in it. Yesterday I received four more issues (Nos. 53-56) in which I read some interesting little articles badgering Marxists. *Merci* for them.

In the near future, in three or four weeks or perhaps earlier, we must expect the spring breakdown of communications with Russia; for a fortnight or perhaps as much as three weeks, there will be no post to and from Russia.

Sent from Shushenskoye to Moscow

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46

TO HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW

March 28

Mark,

I received your letter of March 10 acknowledging receipt of my manuscripts and proposing various plans.

You have, of course, received my letter in which I reject the idea of publishing in Moscow (I wrote that letter *immediately* after I learned about censorship conditions in Moscow)*.

It stands to reason that if things are so impossibly bad with the Moscow censor it is no use thinking of publishing there. Why should we risk such a large sum of money when there may be a delay of a year or a year and a half (*at least*)? You must gather the manuscripts together, do them up in one packet and send them back to St. Petersburg, to the writer, since he is kind enough to take the trouble upon himself. Write to him about the money, telling him we have it, and that he should inform you how much he needs; and that he should see about the publication in autumn, without losing time, as soon as his own work permits.

Such is the outcome of two months' correspondence! I hope you have not yet done anything definite. If you have bought paper you can send it on to St. Petersburg, and if you have started having it set you must pay for the pages already set. It is better to lose a few dozen rubles than risk hundreds. The writer (and you can believe him) speaks confidently about St. Petersburg.

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* See Letter No. 43.—*Ed.*

Of course, if I had had any idea of the charms of our "first capital city" and its censors I should never have dreamed of publishing a book in Moscow. I found out too late, from N. K.'s letter, after she had consulted the writer.

All the best,
Yours,
V. U.

My work has come to a complete standstill*; I am busy with the translation and spend a lot of time over it. After that we'll see—the rough translation will soon be ready, but it will require *radical* revision.

P.S. I am surprised that you write as if you want to publish the book in Moscow—and at the same time point out how impossible censorship conditions are there. Why kick against the pricks?

Written March 28, 1898
Sent from Shushenskoye to Moscow

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* The work referred to is Lenin's book *The Development of Capitalism in Russia.—Ed.*

47

TO HIS MOTHER

May 10, 1898

At last, Mother dearest, my visitors have arrived.[96] They got here on the evening of May 7, and on that very day I was clever enough to go shooting, so they did not find me at home. Nadezhda Konstantinovna, I find, is not looking at all well—she will have to take more care of her health while she is here. As for me—Yelizaveta Vasilyevna exclaimed, "Oh, how fat you're getting!"; and so, you see, you could not wish for a better report!

The terribly sad thing is that they did not bring any good news about Mitya!

I received your letter sent with them and that of April 20. A big *merci* for the things you sent. N. K. has made arrangements in Minusinsk about the books that are to come and I hope I shall get them soon without any trouble. I may fetch them myself as I intend going "to town".

About steamers. They took N. K. only as far as Sorokino (some 70 versts from Minusinsk) after they had waited a week in Krasnoyarsk. The water in the river is still low; there will be high water about the end of May or beginning of June. It is 55 versts from Minusinsk to Shusha. The local steamers make irregular trips; there is no timetable, but, on the whole, once navigation begins they will probably run more or less regularly and without any unusual delays. I would very much like you to come here if you could manage it—if only Mitya is released soon.

By the way, Anyuta asked me who I was going to invite to the wedding; I invite all of you, only I do not know whether it would not perhaps be better to telegraph the

invitations! As you know, N. K. has been confronted with a tragi-comic condition—she must get married *immediately* (sic!) or back to Ufa! Since I am not at all disposed to allow that, we have already begun "bothering" the authorities (mainly for identification papers, without which we cannot get married), so that we shall be able to marry before the Fast of St. Peter*; we permit ourselves to hope that these strict authorities will consider this a sufficiently "immediate" marriage?! I am inviting the people from Tesinskoye (they are already writing that I shall certainly need witnesses) and I hope they will be allowed to come.

Regards to all.

My kisses,

Yours,

V. U.

I almost forgot—Nadya tells me that some books on philosophy were on their way to me, and that they went past here to Irkutsk. Why is it that I have *never* heard anything about this? Has some letter been lost? I would ask Anyuta to find out what happened.

Sent from Shushenskoye to Moscow

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* Marriage could not be celebrated during any of the three fasts practised by the Russian Orthodox Church—Lent, St. Peter's and Christmas.—*Ed.*

48

TO HIS MOTHER

May 17, 1898

This week, Mother dearest, I received Manyasha's letter of May 1.

I have not yet received my books but I hope to get them soon. Nadezhda Konstantinovna made detailed arrangements for them in Minusinsk.

It is probably not worth while subscribing to a newspaper; I hope to get *Syn Otechestva* from Tesinskoye.

The weather here is still foul—wind and rain. Spring just can't settle down.

Yours,
V. U.

Regards to all. Have I got the address right?

Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

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49

TO HIS MOTHER

June 7, 1898

I received your long letter of May 20 the day before yesterday, Mother dearest, *merci*. Last time I forgot to tell you that I had received the box of books in Minusinsk and brought it from there myself.[97]

I cannot understand why you have not had any letters from me for a long time; I have been writing to you every Sunday "from time immemorial".

Our wedding has been somewhat delayed. I handed in an application for the necessary papers to be sent to us a month ago, and myself went to the police chief in Minusinsk to enquire the reason for the delay. It turned out that the "status sheet" has *not yet* (Siberian ways!) been received in Minusinsk although I have been here in exile over a year (the "status sheet" is a paper identifying the exiled person and without it the police chief knows nothing about me and cannot give me any certificate). It has to be obtained from the Krasnoyarsk prison authorities—I am afraid the police chief will not hurry with this. In any case there cannot be a wedding earlier than July.* I asked him to allow the people to come from Tes to my wedding and he refused outright on the grounds that one political exile in Minusinsk (Raichin) got leave of absence to go to a village last March and disappeared.... My arguments that there was no reason to fear that the Tes people would disappear had no effect on him.

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* Lenin and Krupskaya were married on July 10, 1898.—*Ed.*

The Tes people have been given permission to stay in Tes till autumn, then they will move to Minusinsk.

I think I have already written you about steamer traffic on the Yenisei. The water is still high—it is even rising again; it is very hot and the snow is probably melting in the forests on the mountains. The steamers here (they are all tugs) do not run to a schedule; they take two days and sometimes more to get to Minusinsk from Krasnoyarsk. From Minusinsk it is 55 versts by road to Shusha. I hope I shall get a telegram from you if Mitya is released and you decide to come to us. Yelizaveta Vasilyevna is worried that the journey may be too much for you. If you can travel second class on the railway I do not think it will be too tiring.

Regards to all. I am anxiously awaiting a letter from Anyuta. Did she receive *Voprosy Filosofii*?

My kisses,

Yours,

V. U.

Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

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50

TO HIS MOTHER

June 14, 1898

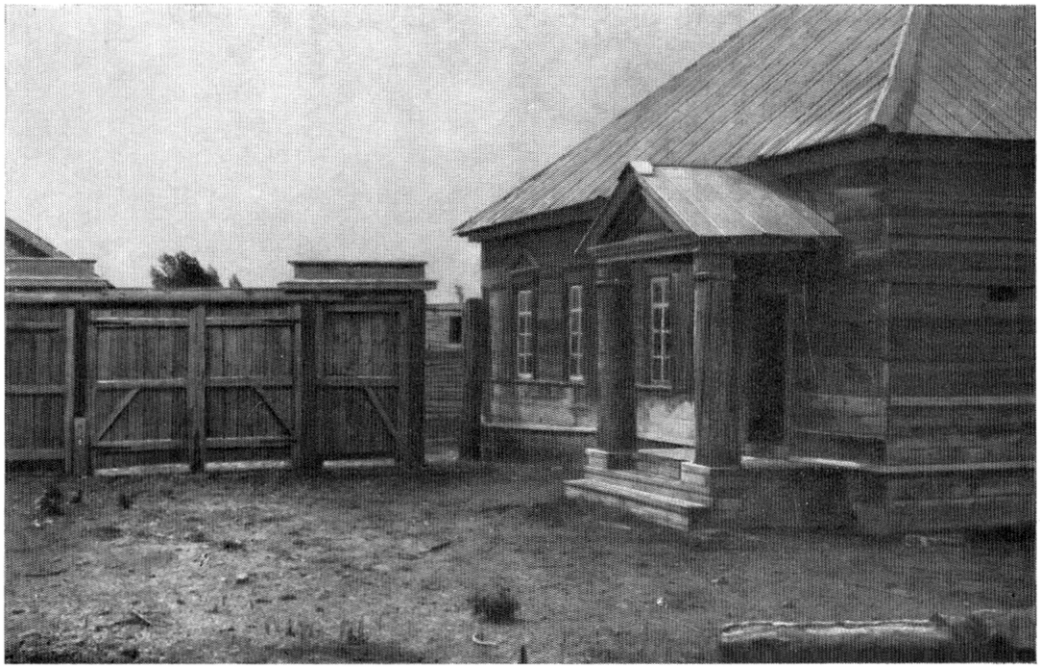
I received a letter dated May 30 from Manyasha, Mother dearest; tell her *merci* for it. But why does she not say a word about *Voprosy Filosofii* that I sent on May 14? Did she receive the book? (I sent it at Anyuta's request; Manyasha writes that my letters of May 10 and 17 have been received.)

Life goes on as usual. I think Nadya is going to write today.

We are now having real summer weather. The heat is exceptional—Y. V. finds it very difficult. Nadya and I have begun bathing and have gone over to a summer system.

There is little news, and what there is is bad. In Tesinskoye Comrade Yefimov (a worker from Yekaterinoslav) has gone mad; he is suffering from persecution mania and Gleb has taken him to hospital. There has been a very nasty affair which concerns Yuly in Turukhansk; one of the exiles (a scandal-monger) made all sorts of silly accusations against him and they had to part company; Yuly is now living alone, is ill, his nerves are all to pieces and he cannot work. God save us from these "exile colonies" and exile "scandals"! Yuly has asked his father to try to get him transferred somewhere else, no matter where.

I am quite well (Nadya and Y. V., too). I am finishing the translation and shall then go back to my work again.[98] I have been informed that the collection of my articles is soon to be printed.



The house in which Lenin lived during his exile in Shushenskoye

Regards to all. Is Mitya working? He should have some regular work, just "reading" in general is not much use.

My kisses,

Yours,

V. U.

If anybody should be coming here ask Manyasha to send me from among my books (1) Borovikovsky, *Zakony grazhdanskiye* (Vol. X, Part I), and (2) *Ustav grazhdanskogo sudoproizvodstva* (pocket edition).

Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

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51

TO HIS SISTER ANNA

July 15, 1898

Yesterday I received your letter of June 27.

I had a letter from the doctor yesterday, about N. Y.—he shot himself with a revolver. He was buried on June 23. He left a letter for Gleb, and manuscripts, also for him. They say he asked me to be given a message to the effect that he died full of faith in life and not from disappointment.

I did not expect such a sad ending. Probably the trouble caused by that scandal-monger had a terrible effect on him.

I believe I have already written about a box of books addressed to me from Vilno (I have not yet received it). Can those be the books that have gone on to Irkutsk? When I get them I will inform you. By the way, the mix-up over my books worries me far less (I have plenty of books) than the mix-up over the library book (which you say you will return in a few days). I did not anticipate such an indescribably lengthy delay! So all our efforts to avoid delays, to manage the return in six weeks instead of six months, have been a waste of time, have they? If so, it will be a very sad state of affairs, especially as all my chances of using the St. Petersburg libraries came to an end when N. K. left. I have even thought of asking you whether you could see the librarian yourself and persuade him to give you exact terms for the despatch of books, time of sending, general punctuality, etc. It would not seem a very difficult thing to do and yet in eighteen months absolutely nothing has come of it. I think it's about time we gave it up—it is no joke trying to do battle against "long distances".

I am extremely surprised that you have not received *Voprosy Filosofii*. It would be a pity for it to get lost, for it is a competently written book and not a cheap one; the set, furthermore, would be broken up. I addressed it to Maria Ulyanova by registered post on May 15. I still have the receipt. Could I have sent it to the wrong place? (I may have sent it to your address at Sobachya Ploshchadka). Please get all the information you can and let me know. I will present the receipt at the post office and claim compensation for the loss. I *always* inform you in my letters of books that I send. So, if a book is a long time coming, you may expect information about it in due course. It seems as if another of my letters has gone astray.

Sergei Ivanovich has written to me that he will be glad to have the post of doctor in Sredny Kolymsk. I think he is right. It is better to have a job; without it you go under in exile. He will probably be able to live there well enough on 2,500 rubles a year.

Nadya and I are making a fair copy of the Webbs' book. I have to post it, by the terms of the contract, in the middle of August. I am utterly fed up with this copying (about 1,000 pages for the two of us). The translation was interesting, for it is a very, very useful book.

Yesterday Nadya received a letter from Apollinariya Alexandrovna in Krasnoyarsk. She is being sent to the village of Kazachinskoye in Yeniseisk District, about 100 versts up the river from Yeniseisk. There are a number of political exiles there—Lepeshinsky, Lingling, Rostkovsky, Grigoryeva. She has been in Krasnoyarsk for about 10 days and is now apparently continuing her way to her place of exile.

When do they intend to release Mitya? I did not expect them to make such a fuss over nothing. And where will he go when they let him out?

Kiss Mother, and regards to all.

Yours,
V. U.

Are you going to the Caucasus with Mark or not?

I was very glad to learn that you have sent the money for the publication to the *écrivain*. A big *merci* for that.

I shall now await events. But tell them to reserve 25 copies for me as author—I will send them to comrades and acquaintances. When you get them, send me 12 or 15 copies at once; I will write to you about the rest and tell you where to send them.

Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

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52

TO HIS MOTHER

August 2, 1898

A few days ago I received your letter of July 15, Mother dearest.

I hope Mitya will have been released by the time you receive this. His release has been promised so many times that he will probably be free by autumn. The investigation of his case is dragging on much too long.

I think Manyasha's plan to go to Brussels is a good one. She can probably study there better than in Switzerland. She will probably soon be able to cope with the French language. They say that the climate there is good. Nadya has an acquaintance* who lived in Belgium for about five years and is now preparing to go back there from Russia (to Liége). He is married to one of Nadya's close friends.* Nadya is writing to her today asking her to write to Manyasha (in Podolsk) and give her all the information and addresses that might be useful to her.

If the janitor at your old flat says that the postman brought "a yellow book" in May, it must have been the *Voprosy Filosofii* that I sent. So we may hope that the book has not been lost and that we can still get it back. I will wait another week to see what Mark can find out about it at work, and then report the loss.

I am very glad Anyuta intends to inform everyone not to send anything to the address of S. M.[99] That foolish

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* For purposes of secrecy Lenin's relatives removed names from his letter. The "friend" was N. L. Meshcheryakov and the "acquaintance", his wife, A. I. Meshcheryakova (Chechurina).—*Ed*.

person recently received something for me and wants to make a whole "affair" of it.... Of course I pay no attention to these foolish antics (probably caused by our quarrel with the Minusinsk crowd) and I shall receive the books that were sent to her. But it would be pleasanter to manage without her. If there are still people who have not been informed, let Anyuta write to them. A few days ago I received some of the books (mostly on philosophy) that Anyuta bought for me. The books for me that have now been received are still in Minusinsk; they include the continuation of the philosophical series.

Among the books the following got in by accident—I think they are Anyuta's—Baedeker, *Suisse*, and *Jahrbuch des Unterrichtswesens in der Schweiz*, 1892, 1893 and 1894 (three volumes); Anna should write and tell me what to do with them. If I am to return them to her, should it be now or in the autumn (when we intend sending a box of books by rail).

[Apollinariya Alexandrovna Yakubova]* is being sent to the village of Kazachinskoye, Yeniseisk District (I believe I wrote this before); it is on the post road a hundred or more versts upstream from Yeniseisk. The political exiles there are Lingling, Rostkovsky and others. She has not yet written to us from there.

The Tes people expect to get transferred in the middle of August.

A detailed letter has arrived from the doctor in Verkholensk in which he describes the death of N. Y. Fedoseyev, and returns a letter from Anna to N. Y. which arrived after his death (he does not know whose letter it is) and asks what to do with the 25 rubles. (They are collecting money there for a memorial.) They (the comrades in Verkholensk) have also undertaken to pay N. Y.'s debts (about 80 rubles).

The doctor writes that the filthy accusations made against him by some scoundrel (also a political exile) concerning money affairs had a very adverse effect on N. Y., and he decided not to take *any* money from anybody (and he

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* For purposes of secrecy Lenin's relatives removed this name from the letter.—*Ed*.

stuck to his decisions), so that he suffered extreme hardship, could not work, and, as the doctor put it, "when he realised he could not work he decided that he would not live".... After his death a telegram arrived in Verkholensk to the effect that Maria Germanovna* had been given permission to join him....

Kisses for you and regards to all. I wish Mark a pleasant journey and a good holiday.

Yours,
V. U.

Y. V. and Nadya send regards.

Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

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* M. G. Hopfenhaus.—*Ed.*

53

TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA

August 16

This week, Mother dearest, I received Anyuta's letter of July 30. I received it on Monday, August 10, in Minusinsk where I had gone to have my teeth seen to.[100] I was very surprised to get this letter, which came, as it turned out, by express train. Incidentally, the transfer of letters from this express train (which goes to Tomsk) to an ordinary train usually involves a loss of time. On Tuesday August 11, I received a Moscow newspaper for July 29 by ordinary train and the letter by express was sent on July 30, i.e., not much quicker.

I cannot send letters by express train from here; to do so I should need friends in Ob[101] to whom I could send letters for posting on the express.

Try once again sending a letter by express and we will see when it arrives.

Today I am sending my Webb translation to St. Petersburg. I have written that they should send my fees to you; if the *écrivain* does not know your address, inform him for this purpose.

There ought to be some news about my collected articles, but there is none and Nadya and I are beginning to think it a fiasco....

Manyasha, I think, is wrong to hesitate. It would be useful for her to live abroad and study in one of the capitals, and studying in Belgium is especially convenient. What subjects does she think of reading?

You see, I was right in postponing the report that *Voprosy* had been lost; the book has not been lost but has been delayed so long that the reason for sending it is no longer valid.

Yours,
V. U.

Anyuta,

By this mail I am sending you a registered packet containing *Negri*, *Tempeste*, and the catalogue you asked for. The address is the same as in this letter. Acknowledge receipt.

At the same time as your letter I received news from Archangel that M. G. also shot herself (July 18) two days after she received news of N. Y.'s death. A terribly tragic story. And the wild slanders of some scoundrel by the name of Yukhotsky (*a political exile*! exiled to Verkholensk) played a major part in this finale. N. Y. was terribly shaken by them and disheartened. Because of them he decided not to accept help *from anyone* and he suffered terrible privations. They say that two or three days before his death he received a letter in which the slander was repeated. The devil knows what it all means! For people in exile, these "exile scandals" are the worst thing of all, but I would never have believed that they could assume such proportions! The slanderer was exposed a long time ago and condemned by all comrades, but I never thought that N. Y. (who had some experience of exile scandals) would take it so much to heart.

The day before yesterday I received Shakhov, Gumplowicz and *Izvestiya* (two issues, January and March); the delay of one mail day was the fault of our postman.

Yuly hopes to get out of Turukhansk soon. In Tesinskoye they are having a wedding and will soon be moving to Minusinsk.* Basil has got a job as a technician with a local industrialist.

Yours,
V. U.

Written August 16, 1898
Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

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* The wedding was that of G. M. Krzhizhanovsky and Z. P. Nevzorova.—*Ed.*

54

TO HIS MOTHER

August 26

Yesterday, Mother dearest, I received your telegram of the 21st about Mitya's release and also your letter and Anyuta's. I was very glad to get all the news, especially about Mitya. His being released means the investigation is finished; now it will be interesting to know what the prosecuting authority is preparing for him.[102] I am waiting for news of how you are getting fixed up for the winter.

Anyuta's letter is very interesting and I was very glad to learn that my fears of a fiasco were premature.* I am sending a registered package (to the same address as the letter) containing the manuscript of an article written a few days ago. Please send it on to the *écrivain* with a request to try and place it somewhere; if it is too late for the collection of articles, try one of the journals (*Mir Bozhy*, or perhaps *Nauchnoye Obozreniye* would be more convenient).[103] I don't know whether it is convenient for me to send manuscripts direct to St. Petersburg. I did that with Webb because the deadline (September 1) was only a fortnight away, but I don't know whether it gave rise to any dissatisfaction there. For the time being I shall continue sending them to you.

I have already written about having received Gumplowicz, Shakhov, Wolfe's *Izvestiya* and books from Friedmann.

I thank "Auntie"** very much for her regards, etc. It is

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* This is a reference to the publication of *Economic Studies and Essays*.—*Ed*.

** A. M. Kalmykova.—*Ed*.

a pity that there are only regards. I am not at all to blame that I "do not reply". What does. Anyuta think? Should I answer now or would it be better to wait, *if I have to?*

The weather here is showing signs of autumn, although the last few days have been very fine. That our house will not be a suitable one to winter in is something we do not think about and are not afraid of. It is always possible to find other lodgings.

Yours,
V. U.

What about Manyasha Is she still hesitating or has she at last come to a decision?

Written August 28, 1898
Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

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55

TO HIS MOTHER

Krasnoyarsk, September 16, 1898

I have been living here for several days, Mother dearest. I expect to leave tomorrow if the steamer is not a day late. I shall have to leave without A. M. and E. E. (I think I wrote to you from Minusinsk, didn't I, that we had arranged to travel together?) E. E. has been admitted to the local hospital; one of the doctors is an acquaintance of A. M.'s, and E. E., it seems, has been decently provided for and feels better. The doctors have not yet been able to give an exact diagnosis—either it is just a pain caused by a blow (she fell from a carriage about six or eight weeks ago) or an abscess of the liver, a serious complaint that is difficult to cure and requires lengthy treatment. I am very sorry for A. M., who has not recovered from the death of her child and her own illness; she becomes so agitated at times that she almost has nervous fits. I would rather not leave her here alone, but my time is up and I must leave. I am asking the local comrades to visit her. As a result of my trip and of the need to help A. M. and make certain purchases, my finances are in a sorry state. Please send Yelizaveta Vasilyevna (from whom I have received a loan) about a half of the sum that should be sent you for the (whole) Webb translation (sent to St. Petersburg on August 15*). If it has not yet been sent I think it will be better to wait a little while (or get someone to bring the money if the opportunity arises). I shall not experience a crisis so there is no particular hurry.

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* The translation was sent on August 16 (see Letter No. 53).—*Ed.*

I am very pleased with my trip here; I have had my teeth treated and have had a breath of fresh air after eighteen months in Shushenskoye. Few though the people in Krasnoyarsk may be, it is nevertheless pleasant, after Shusha, to see people and talk about something else besides shooting and Shushenskoye "news". The journey back is quite a long one (five days or so); the Yenisei steamer makes devilishly slow headway against the stream. I shall have to stay below decks because the weather has turned unusually cold (it goes without saying that I am wearing my winter clothes [and here I have also bought a sheepskin coat for Nadya] so I shall not suffer from the cold). I have got in a supply of candles and books, so as not to die of boredom on the boat. I shall probably have travelling with me Lepeshinskaya, the wife of an exile, who is going to work in the village of Kuraginskoye (about 40 versts from Minusinsk, where our comrade Kurnatovsky lives); her husband has been transferred to the same place. Yesterday I heard the good news that Yuly had been transferred, but I do not yet know exactly where to. The last letter I received from home was from Anyuta dated August 24. Thank her very much for it and for the books (*Neue Zeit*, reprints from the *Archiv*, Kokhanskaya's[104] biography and others).

I shall answer when I arrive in Shusha, in about ten days, that is; it is a pretty long delay but there is nothing I can do about it.

Yours,
V. U.

Many kisses for you and regards to all.

I have just seen A. M. and learned that Elvira Ernestovna is much better and that the doctors do not think she is in any danger; they promise that in about eight days she will be discharged in good health and will be able to travel to Minusinsk. That is very pleasant news.

Sent to Podolsk

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56

TO HIS MOTHER

October 11, 1898

This week It have received no news from you, Mother dearest. I suppose you are fixing things up with Mitya and the tourists that have arrived. It seems that Anyuta's trip was not very successful. That is a great pity because one does not manage to go to the Crimea very often. How is Manyasha? Has she left yet? Did they arrange details of addresses and letters with her? If they did, write and tell me and I will write to her from here. I am greatly surprised at the stubborn silence of St. Petersburg; I sent the Webb translation on August 15 and up to now they have not even acknowledged receipt of it (I sent it by registered post, of course, addressed to P. B., care of the warehouse). There is also amazing silence about the collection of articles; the last letter was dated August 7 which said that proofs of over a hundred pages had been read, and means that the book was half ready. Surely there could not be a delay of more than a month. Probably it is a fiasco, but even so I expected them to send me the book (by registered post—there is nothing inconvenient in that). I am quite at a loss, but Nadya and I are more and more inclined to think it a fiasco. That would be unfortunate in the extreme. I have finished the rough copy of my "markets" and have begun polishing it.* The writing of the fair copy is proceeding simultaneously, so I am thinking of sending it piecemeal and having it printed as I send it, to prevent any

* By "markets" Lenin means *The Development of Capitalism in Russia.—Ed.*

delay (I expect to send the first package off in a month's time at the very latest); if the printing of the book begins in December, it could be in time for this season. It will be necessary, however (if the previous book was a fiasco), to find a publisher and conclude a contract with him. I am writing all this in case Anyuta sees the *écrivain*—she often goes to St. Petersburg or learns something by chance, and in general (even if she does not see or learn anything) it is interesting to talk and hear other people's opinions.

We have no news at all. The weather is cold—soon it will be winter. Autumn this year is not so good as last year.

Regards to all,

Yours,

V. U.

I almost forgot to tell you that with the last post (October 8) I sent you a registered packet containing two books, one issue of *Nauchnoye Obozreniye* and one of *Voprosy Filosofii i Psikhologii*; Anyuta asked me to return them both, and I must apologise for the delay.

Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

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57

TO HIS MOTHER

November 1, 1898

The day before yesterday I received your letter of October 14, Mother dearest, and was very glad to get it. Today I have Gleb staying with me; he has come alone for three days. E. E. is still ill, the illness is a serious one, and she will probably have to be sent to St. Petersburg or Moscow, the local doctors are no good.

I am not writing much because I am late for the post—we have been out walking all day. The weather here is excellent—clear, frosty, calm days; there is no snow yet. Regards to all. Did Mark's health improve in the Crimea? I am expecting a letter soon from Anna. How is Mitya getting on?

Please, send the enclosed letter on to A. P. Sklyarenko*; I have lost his address.

If Anyuta is really thinking of going to St. Petersburg, it would be good if she were to do something about my big composition.** I am sending the first two chapters soon (in a week or ten days) direct to Anyuta; I shall at least know what is happening to them. Then I shall write about my plans for this composition.

Many kisses,

Yours,

V. U.

I have still not received a letter from Manyasha.

Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

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* The letter has been lost.—*Ed.*

** Here and in the next letter *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* is referred to.—*Ed.*

58

TO HIS SISTER ANNA

Anyuta,

Today I am sending to Mother's address two notebooks of the "markets". These are the first two chapters, about a quarter or a fifth of the entire work. Altogether there are eight chapters and I am now finishing work on the third, so that by January it will most probably be finished because Nadya copies it quite quickly, as I write it. Although I am abridging the first rough copy very considerably it is still an enormous size. In the first two chapters 1 reckon there are about 270,000 letters, and if you count 33,000 letters as a printer's signature, there will be about eight and a half signatures. The whole book, therefore, will be about 35 or 40 signatures; I still hope to keep it down to 35, but even that will be a thick book (560 pages). It is desirable to have it printed in a big format with average-sized type, so that there will be about 2,400 letters to a page and more than 33,000 letters to the signature—that will be more convenient since there will be fewer pages.

As far as concerns the actual publication, apparently we shall have to place our hopes on finding a publisher. If you happen to be in St. Petersburg, perhaps you will discuss it with the *écrivain*. Would Mrs. M. Vodovozova undertake to publish the book?[105] [I do not count on an independent edition because I consider the collection of articles to be a flop—although up to now I have not heard *a single word* about it or about the translation! If it should so happen that this is not the case, our own edition will also be possible; then it will be necessary to find a good, intelligent proof-

reader, pay him properly and make it a condition for him to send off every signature immediately it is read.]

Printing can (and should) begin now (I say "should" because otherwise it will not be out by spring); it can then be sent by chapters and I promise that I shall not be late. If a publisher is found, a detailed contract must be concluded with him, and one absolutely definite condition must be the despatch of proofs [it is very difficult for anyone but the author to find misprints, for instance, in tables; and then there may be corrections and addenda, etc.]. In spring the *écrivain* wrote to me that it could be printed in serial form in *Nauchnoye Obozreniye* or some other journal. Of course I am not against that, but it is hardly feasible for any journal to take such a big thing—that would be very unusual. It is far more likely that they would take a chapter or two for publication. The second chapter, and the first as well, are independent and complete. Having this in mind, we hurried to send off those parts that were ready immediately. The only thing is, that if they are given to a journal an agreement must be reached on the deadline for printing them and also on the author's right to publish the whole book without waiting for the journal to complete publication.[106]

I am sending the Preface to the book, not for it to be printed (it will probably have to be revised or added to after a time)[107] but in order to give an impression of the plan of the book as a whole. I will send the summaries for the table of contents with each chapter. If such detailed summaries are not required (although in my opinion detailed contents are more convenient for the reader), they may be abridged and only the titles of the sections left.* By the way, these section titles should not be set in bold-face type or italics (that is too imposing) but should, on the contrary, be set in the smallest available type. That would take up less space and be more in accordance with the purpose of the headings. As far as the tables are concerned, I also think they would best be set in small type, so as to take as little space as possible.

I feel that all these details may prove to be of no value—

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* The detailed table of contents to *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* was not abridged.—*Ed.*

but for my part, at least., I want to do all I can. It is quite possible that the *écrivain* will want, or will agree, to take the matter into his own hands—the one pity is, however, that he is unbelievably and incomprehensibly unpunctual in maintaining communications and is, apparently, absolutely incorrigible in this respect. In general, he is rather too lavish with his kindness; his wife, for instance, herself read the proofs of the beginning of the collection of articles—a tedious job that takes up a lot of time. Why should she have undertaken it when she already has so much to do? Under the circumstances it would have been much more convenient to hire (even if it has to be one they recommend) a special proof-reader[108] and demand that he is punctual in his work and informs you of the despatch of every signature of the proofs.

Here I have to stop. Please answer quickly, if only to acknowledge receipt of the manuscript.

Yours,
V. U.

Written between November 7 and 11, 1898
Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

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59

TO HIS SISTER MARIA

November 11, 1898

We received your letter, Manyasha, and were very glad to have it. We have now got out the maps and are trying to find out just where Brussels is—the devil take it. We have discovered it and have given it some thought—a stone's throw from London, and from Paris and from Germany, which puts it pretty well in the very centre of Europe.... Yes, I do envy you. During the first period of my exile I decided not to look at a map of European Russia or Europe; there was always such a bitter taste in my mouth when I opened those maps and looked at the various black dots on them. Now it does not worry me, I have learned to be patient and look at the maps more calmly; we even begin to wonder which of those dots it would be interesting to reach later on. During the first half of my exile I looked mostly backwards, I suppose, but now I am looking ahead. Oh well, *qui vivra, verra.** As for newspapers and books, please get hold of whatever you can. Send all sorts of catalogues from second-hand booksellers and bookshops in all languages. There is a request I should like to make of you today, but I have decided to put it off till next time. I would remind you of what I wrote to you or to Anna last year—the most interesting newspapers are the official organs that contain verbatim reports of parliamentary discussions. If you find out where such newspapers are sold (are there only Belgian or are there also French and English newspapers in Brussels?) and send the *interesting* issues

* He who lives will see (Fr.).—*Ed.*

(you keep up with the press, I hope?), it will be fine. I advise you not to confine yourself to Belgian newspapers but to subscribe to some German paper; you will not forget the language, and will get excellent reading material; the cost of the newspapers is not great.

Are you going home for Christmas?

Yours,
V. U.

After a long wait I have received my collection of articles at last.* I will ask Anyuta to send you a copy.

Sent from Shushenskoye to Brussels

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* *Economic Studies and Essays.—Ed.*

60

TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA

November 15, 1898

How are you managing to winter in Podolsk, Mother dearest? This is not a very merry winter for you—Mark has to live away from you, Mitya is chained to Podolsk. He did not answer my questions about how he has to do his army service—in the ranks or as an assistant surgeon? Is there any information about his case, when it will end and how? Or none at all? How is Mark keeping? Is he not miserable alone in Moscow or is he up to his neck in work at his office and his evening lectures (does he still give them?)?[109]

We have no news. The only change is in amusements—now that winter has come I go skating instead of shooting; I recall the old days and find that I have not forgotten how, although it is about ten years since I last skated. Nadya also wants to learn to skate, but I am not sure whether she will manage it.

Regards to all,
Many kisses,
Yours,
V. U.

Anyuta,

I forgot to write to you by the last post that I had received *Neue Zeit* then. Yesterday I got a bill from A. M. Kalmykova. I have accumulated a debt of about eight rubles and still go on ordering and ordering. I cannot understand why I still have not had the fees for the translation I sent to St. Petersburg as long ago as August 15! If the money comes, please send fifty rubles or so to the book warehouse, and if it does not come by the time this letter arrives, I

do not know what to do. If it is possible, it would be a good thing to send even ten rubles to the warehouse; as far as the fee for the translation is concerned, I have been told it will be paid in any case (there should not be any objections from the censors)—and so it is only a matter of time.

Last time I wrote to you I asked you to send the book to various acquaintances of mine but forgot that you do not know the addresses.[110] I do not know the Archangel addresses myself. Today at a guess I am writing to M. E. Grigoryev* at that sawmill where he works. I think you have had some correspondence with Archangel; would it not be better, then, if you were to send them to your acquaintances to be handed on? If that cannot be done, leave them until you get the addresses. The address of Lalayants is: Is. Christoph. Lalayants, House No. 11, corner of Bogoslovskaya and Krutoi streets, Voronezh. It would be a good idea to send a copy to the Samaran, who writes in *Nauchnoye Obozreniye*.** He is in St. Petersburg, but I don't know his address.

Am I not loading you down too much with requests?

Wolfe's are advertising a library of French classics *at ten kopeks an issue*. Have you seen what sort of an edition it is?

Yours,
V. U.

I was amazed to read that Labriola is being published in Russian! I can imagine in what distorted form!

Could it have been you who translated Labriola?

I read in *Frankfurter Zeitung*[111] a very interesting article about the Stuttgart *Parteitag*.[112] We are thinking of subscribing to that newspaper next year. Do you read any foreign newspaper?

Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

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* The letter has been lost.—*Ed.*

** This refers to P. P. Maslov.—*Ed.*

61

TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA

November 22, 1898

Today, Mother dearest, I have to write a long business letter to Anyuta. For this reason I shall not write to you, especially as Nadya has already compiled a very lengthy description of our life here and I have nothing to add to it. Her story is true in the main—only there is some exaggeration about my work on the "markets".*

Yours,
V. U.

Ask Mitya to send *Pamyatnaya knizhka Tulskoi gubernii*** to Alexei Pavlovich Sklyarenko as soon as possible; I don't know his address.

Anyuta,

I received two of your letters together—dated November 1 and 4. There is a good side to the publication having been handed over to Vodovozova; at any rate, the work is certain to be done. Her account for the *Studies* seems to be perfectly correct and the smallness of the fee is due to the small number of copies.[113] I cannot, of course, accept such a fee for the "markets". I intend to take advantage of Vodovozova's offer (if you see her, convey to her, of course, many thanks from me) to publish my "markets"—as for the financial conditions, I leave it to you (if it will not be too

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* See Krupskaya's Letter No. 11.—*Ed.*

** Which I am sending by registered post to your address today.

much trouble) to discuss that with her; I do not know which is better, a definite fee or "all the net profit". The more advantageous of those two methods of payment must, of course, be chosen, especially as I do not need the money in a hurry. The most important of the conditions attending publication is to ensure *perfectly good* proof-reading. Unless this is done it *really is not worth while publishing anything.* The proof-reading of the *Studies* was very bad. Apart from those misprints *distorting the meaning** that I sent you,[114] there are numerous minor ones that comrades are already complaining to me about. It is absolutely necessary to have a very intelligent, professional proof-reader; that must be made an absolute condition and I am even willing to pay such a proof-reader double in view of the author's being unable to read the proofs himself. This is especially true of tables—there are always mistakes galore, and in the "markets" there are a lot of tables. Then (even if you have the best proof-reader) I *must* have copies of the final page proofs sent to me immediately, signature by signature, and I will send you a list of misprints. The delay in issuing the book because of this will be (if they are sent punctually) at most a month; that is no great misfortune as long as the book is printed decently. With regard to the date of issue—the work can begin now (we have the third chapter in a fair copy and in a few days I shall finish the fourth, that is, half of the book; the second half is much easier, so I can confidently undertake to send to Moscow the last chapter by February 15, or even earlier); this would be particularly convenient for me, because I would have time to send in not only the misprints to the first signatures but perhaps some more important changes. The format and the type should provide for about 2,400 letters to a page; the whole work would then be no more than 30 signatures, say 500 pages in round figures (more pages would probably be too many and would be bulky for the reader). Lastly, with regard to the chart in Chapter II—special attention will be needed to make sure there are no mistakes in it. Please talk to Vodovozova

* At the same time as I sent the corrections to you I sent them to the *écrivain* with a request to print them, *without fail*, on a separate sheet, to be put into the book when it was sold. It is now necessary to make the same request of Vodovozova.

about all this and answer me as soon as possible after you receive this letter. We shall send Chapters III and IV when they are finished, in about a fortnight.

Please send Manyasha another three copies of the *Studies*. Alexander Leontyevich's* address is Gudina's House, Opernaya Street, Archangel. I have sent them to all the comrades here. Another copy must be sent to the Samaran who writes in *Nauchnoye Obozreniye*.

Out of the third of the fee you have received, a half will cover the money sent by Mitya for Yelizaveta Vasilyevna. From the other half, please send a half to Kalmykova's warehouse (I have run into debt there, and I order a lot of things) and use the remainder to subscribe to journals and newspapers for 1899; it is time, especially for the foreign publications.

Russkiye Vedomosti for one year —*8 rubles 50 kopeks* (pay for ten months for me);
Russkoye Bogatstvo for one year —*9 rubles*
Mir Bozhy for one year —*8 rubles*
Niva for 1899 —*7 rubles*
Frankfurter Zeitung for the first quarter of 1899 —*4 rubles 70 kopeks*
Archiv für soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik, herausgegeben von Heinrich Braun. For 1899 —*12 marks*.

We here greatly appreciate newspapers and journals, especially those that arrive in good time; that is why I ask you to subscribe as early as possible.

Yours,
V. U.

Regards to all.
(Bios has been given to Basil, we no longer have it.)

Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

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* A. L. Malchenko.—*Ed*.

62

TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS BROTHER

November 28, 1898

I have received letters from you and Mitya dated November 9, Mother dearest.

With regard to telegrams to me here—you must bear in mind that our postman goes to Minusinsk on Monday and Thursday in the morning. This means that you must send telegrams on Sunday or Wednesday morning, so that I receive them on Tuesday or Friday morning (these are our mail days, local Shushenskoye "holidays").*

One letter came from Manyasha and we answered it,** but we have not yet had any more from her.

I am very, very glad you like Podolsk. It is a pity, of course, that Mark cannot live with you.

I have another request to make of Anyuta—to add to the list of subscriptions *Trudy imperatorskogo Volnogo ekonomicheskogo obshchestva*, price 3 rubles a year (6 issues), including delivery—if that publication is still appearing.

If you take out the subscriptions through Wolfe's they already have my address because I receive their *Izvestiya*.

Yours,
V. U.

Regards to all.

Y. V. sends regards to all.

I have finished one half of my book and am now sure that it will be shorter instead of longer than I assumed.

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* The telegraphic address is Minusinsk, Shushenskoye, Ulyanov.

** See Letter No. 59.—*Ed.*

Mitya,

Your information about my shooting is inaccurate. Who told you about it? Maybe Anyuta made some chronological errors and produced some ancient myths about hares as up-to-date news. In the autumn I made quite a good kill among the hares here—there are masses of them on the islands in the Yenisei and we soon got fed up with them. Prominsky shot several dozen because he wanted the skins for a coat.

It is more interesting to shoot black grouse and partridge, but more difficult. In July I got a few grey-hen, but now people go after them on horseback with rifles; in winter you can't get near enough on foot (except on rare occasions). For partridge (autumn) you need a good dog and my Jenny is either too young or simply no good. In winter they mostly catch partridges in traps and snares.*

We now have a new attraction, a skating rink that takes me away from shooting quite a lot.

Next summer I hope to go shooting much more—there will be less work, the dog will be used to its job and it will be my last (I hope) summer in Siberia.

All the best,
V. U.

Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

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* Last year I got a few partridge (very few, though), but this year not a single one.

63

TO HIS MOTHER, HIS SISTER ANNA AND HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW

December 6, 1898

I got your note, Mother dearest, that you added to Anyuta's letter. I am answering her in detail. I have nothing new to say about myself—life goes on as usual. The weather is still fine and today I am going out for the winter shooting. Anatoly writes that lie is ill, poor chap, probably with typhus. Yuly is freezing in Turukhansk (2° below zero in his room in the mornings) and is anxiously awaiting a transfer. Yak. M. (Lyakhovsky) writes that 180 rubles are needed for a memorial-stone to Fedoseyev, and that so far only 70 rubles have been collected, and he asks all acquaintances to be informed of this.* He writes that on October 18, A. Yergin, Frelikh, Zmeyev, Alyushkevich, Talalayev, Tyutryumova-Abramovich and Goldman arrived at Alexandrovskaya Prison. All of them are on their way to Yakutsk.

Yours,
V. U.

Anyuta and Mark,

I have received both your letters, thanks for them and here is a detailed answer.

It is surprising that the *écrivain* rejected the proposal

* The address to which money can be sent is Y. M. Lyakhovsky, Verkholensk, Irkutsk Gubernia.

to employ a professional proof-reader (for the *Studies*)—there are numerous misprints, and I am particularly worried about those that distort the meaning, a list of which I sent to you and to him. I am expecting an answer in a day or two as to whether they can be stuck in somewhere; they are essential.

I think there is hardly any sense in undertaking an edition of our own; first, it is desirable to establish permanent relations with Vodovozova, who is suitable as a publisher; second, the sum (needed for the edition) is very, big, and the matter is very tedious, complicated and difficult. In doing it ourselves for the first time we are certain to make all sorts of mistakes and I am very anxious that this publication should be outwardly irreproachable, even if it costs a few hundred rubles extra. Thirdly, there is no very great difference in time; my letter will arrive by Christmas and Vodovozova is arriving in February—it may perhaps be possible to communicate with her in writing. And how much time would be wasted (in the case of our own edition) on travelling, searching, etc. It is very hard to keep track of a publishing job from another town. Would it not be better, therefore, to write to Vodovozova? Ask her when she can start setting the book, how much time it will take, will it be possible to issue the book before the end of April, etc. As far as the terms are concerned, I think it is better to take the net profit rather than fees per signature. In the former case I would expect to receive about one-third of the gross sum or even more; in the latter, to make up such a sum it would be necessary to pay a minimum of 75 rubles for each printer's signature, which would be burdensome and risky for the publisher.

I have finished four chapters and even the writing of the fair copy will be finished today, so I shall be sending you Chapters III and IV in a day or two. I hope you will receive the whole book in February. If you are going to read the manuscript, by the way, please send me your remarks. In my rough copy I have marked off the pages of the fair copy, so that I can send corrections. And, again, about the *Studies*—send me any press reviews that you or any acquaintances come across, because here I do not keep up with the current press.

If small type and tables cost more to set, the publisher will have to spend quite a lot on the "markets" because there are many tables, and some diagrams as well. The total volume of the book, as far as I can tell at present, comes to about 450 pages at the rate of 2,400 letters to a page, which is less than I anticipated. If the pages are like those in Vodovozova's publications (they are very widely spaced with no more than 2,000 letters to a page) there will be no less than 550, so smaller type is desirable. It is very desirable to print all the tables in small type, otherwise they will take up a lot of space, be less graphic and not be taken in at a glance by the reader. The tables that are printed sideways on a whole page are particularly inconvenient (i.e., you have to turn the book round to read them). All this is very important to the reader. It would be a good thing to have the type used in the tables in the *appendices* to Vodovozova's book *Zemlevladeniye i selskoye khozyaistvo*; all the tables in the second and other chapters should be set in this type (most of the tables are in Chapter II; there are fewer in the other chapters, but there are some). You must talk to the publisher about all this and also about sending me the proofs (as I have already written). To speed up publication it could be done at two printing works, Part 1 (the first four chapters) and Part 2 separately, with the pages numbered individually. With regard to Mark's proposal to change the title and make it a two-volume edition—I do not think this would be convenient. The more modest and heavier-sounding title is better because of the censorship; to change the title would mean that I would have to make a large number of petty, and, therefore, onerous changes in the text. It is not a good thing to split it into two volumes. If you take the format and type of the *Studies* as the standard, each volume would be smaller than that book (and they could not be sold as separate volumes because the composition is a single whole with cross references to different chapters, etc.). As to price, I did not expect it to be more than 3 rubles and consider a higher price to be undesirable (and a lower price would mean losing money). As many copies as possible should be printed*;

* I agree completely with Mark that there "must be" *at least* 2,400. But what will the publisher say?

it is a pity that such a small number of the *Studies* was put out. With regard to censorship obstacles to the "markets"—I do not expect any, unless there is to be a period of toughness and special severity against our people. If the *Studies* sell well, the "markets" will probably sell better. This should be impressed on the publisher. There is also the question of the number of copies to be supplied to the author (I hope you sent Manyasha another three copies of the *Studies*). I think we should take fifty, because this time I shall have to send them to many people and sometimes to exchange them for Zemstvo statistical publications.

Well, I think I have chattered away long enough—and there must be many repetitions of what has been said before in other equally long business letters! You must be bored with reading all these repetitions. It is very much like my writing—the first rough copy of the "markets" I have scratched about and abridged most ruthlessly.

All the best,
V. U.

All our people send their regards.

Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

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64

TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA

December 12, 1898

From Anyuta I have received *Neue Zeit* and the report of the Committee on Literacy, also a postcard dated November 28. I am answering her on another page. Mail days here are Tuesday and Friday, but that, of course, is not what interests you. We receive Wednesday's and Friday's newspapers, on the fourteenth day from the day of issue, that is. It is, therefore, more convenient for you to write on Tuesdays and Fridays (from Moscow, of course; about Podolsk I do not know). Nadya and I have submitted an application to go to Minusinsk for Christmas and stay there for a week.[115] We shall receive letters just the same, so there is no need to change the address.

Yours,
V. U.

Anyuta,

Today I am sending a registered letter containing the third and fourth chapters of the "markets" to Mother's address. I have made a more exact calculation of how much I have written; in the first four chapters there are about 500,000 letters.* That is fewer than I imagined (and the second part will be less than the first). My fears were groundless; the type that gives 2,000 letters to the page will

*I have counted about 900 letters to a page (and about 1,600 letters in those long pages that have been used for Chapter II).

be quite all right. I have nothing against an edition of two separate volumes—decide yourselves with the publisher. The only thing is the figures—the figures!—they will get them all wrong unless they send me the proofs to correct.*

Please make two corrections to the manuscript: (1) in the Preface strike out everything from "As we know" in the second sentence to "opponents' views" in the third; in the next sentence instead of "it seemed to us" write "it seemed to the author".

I think it might be rather dangerous to speak about "opponents" in the very first paragraph.[116]

(2) On page 44 cross out the footnote at the end of Section VI and in place of it write: "cf. V. Ilyin, *Economic Studies*, St. Petersburg, 1899, p. 30".[117]

Please acknowledge receipt of these corrections.

Thanks for *Neue Zeit* and the report of the committee. Is it possible to obtain the missing numbers of *N. Z.* for 1897-98; we have Nos. 7-8 and 11-24; Nos. 1-6 and 9-10 are missing. I should very much like to have a full set for 1897-98.

You write that you received my letter of November 15** and did not receive the previous one about books. I no longer remember exactly when I sent it, but I know for sure that immediately after I received books from St. Petersburg I sent you an ordinary letter *with a list of misprints that distort the meaning* and a request to distribute a few copies among acquaintances, including another three for Manyasha (in addition to one for herself), one to St. Petersburg, not to the old man but to the Samaran, one to Kokushka (I have not sent him one); and three for you, three for the Chicagoan, the author of *The Factory* (T.-B.) and *Markets* (Bulgakov),[118] two for Grigoryev and Columbus —I make it fourteen copies about which I wrote, as I remember, in the lost letter.

I was very surprised to learn from the doctor that the censor seems to have banned the translation of the Webbs'

* Figures followed by decimal fractions should be printed in a special manner; the fractions should be printed in smaller type than the whole numbers and *should be printed below the line*, i.e., not 6.3 but $6._3$. This is very important in order to prevent mistakes.

** See Letter No. 60.—*Ed.*

book finally and unconditionally. How can that be? I am of the opinion that it is a rumour—due to the translation *History of Trade Unionism*, which is more *zensurwidriges*.* Our translation is still in the press, isn't it?

All the best,
V. U.

I wrote to the Statistics Department of the Zemstvo Board of Tver Gubernia asking them to send me their *summaries* (Vol. XIII, Issue 1, 1897). They have not sent it, *canaille*. Is there anyone of your acquaintance who could get it? Krasnoperov (if he is there) would surely not refuse.

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* Contrary to the censor (Ger.).—*Ed.*

65

KRUPSKAYA AND LENIN TO LENIN'S MOTHER

December 20

Dear Maria Alexandrovna,

Today Volodya has unexpectedly gone out shooting so I am writing. Recently the frost here has been as much as 20° below zero, but today it is only two and a half degrees below and Volodya was tempted to go out with his gun, especially as the Shushenskoye sportsmen have a theory that this is the best time to go after grouse; the birds have not eaten during the heavy frosts and are now so busy eating that they do not see a man approaching. Volodya has taken somebody else's gun because he has broken his own; the barrel proved to be made of cast iron and cracked merely from being dropped on the ice. We sent the gun to Minusinsk but the gunsmith there refused to repair it. And so we shall have to buy another. We have heard that a very good double-barreled gun is for sale in Minusinsk and Volodya is thinking of acquiring it.

We are now busy preparing for a trip to Minusinsk. Actually our preparations boil down to Volodya pinning a sheet of paper to the wall and writing down everything we have to buy in town. Mother is not going with us—first she said "no" because the road was bad, and now she says it is too cold. We are going on Christmas Eve and shall return on the first or second, so Volodya's next letter will be from Minusinsk. I do not know whether Volodya told you that Kurnatovsky and the Lepeshinskys are coming to Minusinsk for Christmas, and that they intend to skate, play chess, sing, argue, etc. It looks as though we shall have a good time.

When the "markets" are finished there is a plan to settle down to the study of languages in general and German in particular. Volodya is ordering Pavlovsky's Russian-German Dictionary from the warehouse and asks Anyuta to get hold of Turgenev in German and a decent German gram-

mar. I have heard that one of the best German grammars is that of F. Fiedler but I do not know for sure.

Oh, by the way, we suspect that our surmise about *Zhizn*[119] was incorrect. If so, it is not, of course, worth while subscribing to it.

We have received only one letter from Manyasha. Why doesn't she write? Perhaps her letters do not reach us—she should register them. Volodya has come home and is making a fuss about my staying indoors and not going skating. So I shall close now. "Happy New Year!" Kisses for you and Anyuta, regards to D. I. and M. T.* Mother sends best regards to all. There is nothing to write about at the moment, but there may be after Minusinsk. Again, kisses,

Yours,
Nadya

I add my New Year's greetings.

With regard to the translation of Turgenev—I should think it would be best to enquire at Wolfe's and at the same time to get a catalogue of *Reclaim*[120] editions. It does not matter to us which of Turgenev's books you get, the only thing is that the translation must be a good one. We should like a German grammar that is as complete as possible, especially as regards syntax. It would probably be better if it were in German. Perhaps we should go over to Wolfe altogether for ordering books and for information. Kalmykova's warehouse is not very forthcoming with information; I asked them to get me a reprint of N. Karyshev's article "Material on the Russian National Economy" from the Second Issue of the *second* part of *Izvestiya Moskovskogo selskokhozyaistvennogo instituta* for 1898, but they refused to fulfil my request or even send me the address of *Izvestiya*. Can you get it?

All the best,
V. U.

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* Dmitry Ilyich Ulyanov and Mark Timofeyevich Yelizarov.—*Ed.*

66

TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER MARIA[121]

Mile M. Oulianoff,
Rue des Minimes, 40,
Bruxelles,
Belgique

December 22, 1898

I have received Kovalevsky's book from you, Manyasha, but not a single letter. This surprises me (and all of us); since that first letter from you we have not had another. Are letters being lost? Or, perhaps, you are so full of your new life that no time is left for letters? I have had Kovalevsky's book for a long time; I got it in November, when I ordered it from a Petersburg shop; I started reading it but, I must admit, did not finish it—it is a boring compilation. Write and tell us when you think of coming for the summer, what newspapers and journals you are reading, and whether you have got to know Brussels properly and the publishing business there. Send me *Journal officiel*,[122] when it contains interesting parliamentary speeches. I intend writing you a long letter after Christmas, to celebrate which we are going to Minusinsk in a few days.

Yours,
V. U.

Nadya sends regards.

I received your letter of December 20.* I am now in Minusinsk. I will reply on return.

Yours,
V. U.

Written on December 22 and 28, 1898
Sent from Minusinsk

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* New Style.—*Ed.*

67

TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA

Minusinsk, December 28, 1898

I am writing to you, Mother dearest, from Minusinsk; Nadya and I are here for Christmas and will remain until the first. We are having an excellent time here. This is just the kind of holiday from work that we needed. Among other things we skate very strenuously, sing, and so on.

Yours,
V. U.

I am writing to Anna separately.

Yesterday I got a letter from Manyasha with her new address in Brussels.

Anyuta,

I have received your postcard of December 5 and your letter of December 8. Thanks for them. I read a detailed account of the *écrivain*'s lecture in *Russkiye Vedomosti*. Of course, it was hardly worth while putting forward such new views in a short lecture: The remains of Fedoseyev's work would be interesting in this respect; I think he held very different views on landowners' farms before the reform.[123]

(I do not remember whether I informed you that we have received *N. Z.* up to No. 24 inclusive.)

With regard to *Pamyatnaya knizhka Tulskoi gubernii*, I wrote that it was for A. Sklyarenko whose address I did not have at the time. I informed you a long time ago that I had received the report of the literacy committee.*

I am in agreement with the writer's advice (to send it to the printer immediately, use the same format and type as Tugan-Baranovsky's book[124] and not send the proofs

* See Letters Nos. 61 and 64.—*Ed.*

here). The type used in that book will be compact enough; it will come to about 500 pages. I have finished another two chapters (V and VI) and chapter five has been rewritten. I hope to finish in January.

Of course, I agree to entrust the second proofs to you and shall be very, very grateful to you for this strenuous and thankless work. I nevertheless think a professional proof-reader is indispensable; in my opinion two rubles a printer's signature is too little—pay him three rubles or more per signature for the reading of *two* proofs and take the *third* (not the second) proof yourself. For misprints send them to me (not one signature but 5-10 at a time). I do not think, however, that it will be very convenient for me to send you the rough copy; I sometimes need to make additions, inserts, etc., and I cannot do this without the rough copy. Could you not pay the proof-reader more and have him send the pages of the fair copy with the proofs? If that is impossible I will, of course, send the rough copy (you can demand it by telegram "send rough copy").

Yours,
V. U.

I answered *immediately* on receipt of your letter regarding my consent to Vodovozova's terms.* Bios is being read and you are asked not to take it away. Can you not get it in Moscow?

Sent to Podolsk

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* See Letter No. 63.—*Ed.*

1899

68

TO HIS MOTHER

January 3, 1899

Nadya and I returned from Minusinsk yesterday, Mother dearest, where we had spent a week with Gleb and Basil very pleasantly and saw the New Year in among comrades.[125] There were many toasts on New Year's eve but the one most heartily greeted was that proposed by one of the comrades "to Elvira Ernestovna and absent mothers".

Today we have not been able to get back into our routine, but tomorrow we shall set to work again. Chapter VI of my book is finished (but not yet rewritten); in a month or so I shall finish the book altogether. I answered Anyuta's letters of December 5 and 8 while still in Minusinsk*; I wrote to her that I agreed to the immediate despatch of the first chapters to the printer, to having the proofs corrected without the author (it is desirable to have three and not two proofs) and the despatch of the final (clean) copy only to the author and, in general, that Anyuta should take charge of publication and do as she thinks fit. I hope Anyuta received my letter. At the same time I sent a letter to Mitya asking him to buy me a gun. Will it cause any difficulties of a financial nature? Something seems to have gone amiss with my fees and I keep ordering books from Kalmykova's warehouse, so I am beginning to have twinges of conscience.

Many kisses for you and regards to all.

Yours,

V. U.

Y. V. and Nadya ask me to convey their regards.

Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

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* See Letter No. 67.—*Ed.*

69

TO HIS MOTHER

January 10, 1899

Your letter and Anyuta's, sent on December 24, I have received, Mother dearest. As Nadya will write in detail, there has been a hitch with the parcel.*

You write that my letter of the 6th** arrived on the 22nd and that such a delay seems strange to you. I do not know the reason. Perhaps the letter was late in leaving Minusinsk; sixteen days is not long, seeing that we receive newspapers from Moscow on the thirteenth day.

With regard to the proofs of the "markets", I have to admit that the writer's statement that the manuscript is exemplary does not appease me; the writer has on one occasion shown himself to be a poor proof-reader and, in general, it is not his business and not within his capacity to handle such tedious work properly. I think, therefore, that it will be necessary to insist on three proofs and not two (the last to go to Moscow), and on Anyuta being in direct contact with the proof-reader. I am afraid of its being published as badly as the *Studies*—that would be very sad. In general it is very difficult, impossible even, to give you answers to all minor and partial questions from here; they must be settled there, on the spot. I am not, therefore, quibbling over the change of the title, even though I do not like it, and the idea that it will "go" better with a broader title is something else I do not like. I deliberately chose

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* See Krupskaya's Letter No. 12.—*Ed.*

** See Letter No. 63.—*Ed.*

a modest title. If, however, it is preserved as a sub-title it is not so important and, I repeat, all minor questions must be decided immediately on the spot. My answers from here are always delayed and useless. If it is possible and convenient I should like to have the last proofs, even if at the rate of 5-10 signatures at a time.

I read in *Russkiye Vedomosti* about Tugan-Baranovsky's debate. Yes, he should have answered Kablukov[126] more sharply!

We shall soon be sending the fifth and sixth chapters; there may possibly be a delay with the end but it will not be very great. I do not think it will hold matters up.

Yours,
V. U.

Regards to all.

I am sending an addendum to the second chapter, page 152 of the fair copy.[127]

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70

TO HIS MOTHER

January 17, 1899

At last we have received the parcel,[128] Mother dearest. *Merci* for it. On Tuesday we also received *Neue Zeit* from Anyuta. It is most satisfactory that all last year's issues of *Neue Zeit* are gradually reaching us. Anyuta, of course, has read *Die historische Berechtigung*, etc., in the issues she sent me. I had read that article before this and am in complete agreement with its arguments (as are other comrades here). By this mail I am sending you two more notebooks with parts of my book (Chapters V and VI) (+a separate page—the table of contents); these two chapters contain about 200,000 letters and the last two chapters will contain approximately as many. I should like to know whether they have begun to print the beginning, about how much time it takes to set a signature and if Anyuta is reading the last proof as she originally intended doing. If that is the case I do not think there would be anything inconvenient in sending the author the first few signatures together with other books. However, the pros and cons of this have probably already been considered without reference to my opinion.

We have no news. Yuly has not written for a very long time, which surprises and worries me. Anatoly is still unwell, poor fellow; he recently went down with typhus and

there were some subsequent lung and heart complications. We advise him to apply for a transfer to Minusinsk District because the climate in Yeniseisk District is much worse, but he will have his own way.[129]

Yours,
V. U.

Regards to all.

Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

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71

TO HIS SISTER MARIA

Mlle Marie Ouljanoff,
Rue des Minimes, 40,
Bruxelles,
Belgique

January 24, 1899

I have received the catalogues you sent, Manyasha. A big *merci* for them. There are some interesting things in them. I intend sending you a list of the books I should like to acquire. Write and tell me if you have become familiar with Brussels in general and with book publishing and bookselling in particular. I should like to read the verbatim reports of some interesting parliamentary discussions. In Paris, for instance, they are to be found in the *Journal officiel*, each issue of which can also be bought separately, of course. I do not know whether it is obtainable in Brussels. The Belgian government newspaper most probably publishes similar reports too.

Where did you get the English catalogues? Are there English bookshops in Brussels or did you order them from London?

I am now busy with urgent work; there is not much left for me to do to finish my book, and then I shall most likely have to start contributing to the magazines. That is why I am writing very little, especially as Nadya says that she will write in detail about our life here.

If you come across anything in second-hand bookshops on the economics of farming in France, Britain, etc. (farming statistics, *enquêtes*, the reports of British commissions),

or on the history of industrial forms (among others, Babbage, Ure—the older writers on this subject), please buy them if the prices are moderate.

Have you much work? When are you thinking of coming home?

All the best,
Yours,
V. U.

Sent from Shushenskoye

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72

TO HIS BROTHER

January 26, 1899

I have received your letter about guns and hasten to reply without awaiting the promised price list. I have the price list of the gunsmith's shop belonging to I. Schönbruner (Stary Gazetny Street, between Tverskaya and Nikitskaya Streets, in the house of Tolmachov), which Mark sent me last winter. The most suitable on the list seem to me to be the centre-fire guns by August Francott in Lüttich, pp. 6-7 (45-55 rubles with a choke barrel—incidentally, is it true that the choke increases the concentration of the shot and the accuracy of the gun, as the price list claims and as I have heard from sportsmen? If so, it must be a very useful thing—12 and 16 calibre, weight about 7½ lbs) —and on page 22, a light gun by the same firm (6½ lbs, and a barrel of 14½ vershki* and not 17, also with a choke, 65 rubles for a 12 calibre).** You ask about calibre and weight. I have a 12 calibre gun and I have some cartridges (brass) of that calibre left (made by Y. Torbek; I paid 12 kopeks each for them); this is the size.***

However, you'll probably have to buy new cartridges (25, brass, will be enough, I think) because the cartridges have to fit the gun exactly. And so you must choose the calibre and weight yourself; it is not important, as long

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* About 25½ inches; vershok = 1¾ inches (approx.).—*Ed.*

** There are cheaper guns: 42 rubles (p. 10), 35 rubles (p. 14, fig. No. 18, without choke). If it shoots well and is reliable, that will do. I am not interested in the ornament. 12 calibre is a bit big, perhaps 16 calibre would be better.

*** Here Lenin drew a small circle in pencil.—*Ed.*

as it has a good range (it goes without saying that, all other things being equal, a light gun is preferable; perhaps it really is better to have a heavier barrel, in case of necessity it can be scoured, and it won't break or buckle so easily. I have been spoiled, you know, with my light plain-bore gun!). I was particularly interested in the terms Schönbruner offers; "selection of the gun is made by the purchaser if he is present at the test, or by the shop" (p. 3), and not a word about any special payment for a test! But you should not leave it to the shop, of course, to make the selection, you must test the gun yourself and measure the spread of the shot* and take the test sheets. It is strange that they should test it "at 50 arshins**" (p. 3 N.B.)! What the devil do they mean by that? What game can you shoot at a distance of 17 sagenes?*** I always tested my gun at 25 to *30* sagenes. That, incidentally, may be due to my inexperience. If you "hold a consultation" (oho!) all this will probably be weighed up. I was extremely surprised to learn that Schönbruner considers the weight of a gun for transport purposes to be 35 pounds (sic! p. 108—"over long distances"). That's scandalous—17 rubles 50 kopeks! The gun weighs 7½ lbs which is 4 rubles and for the box (you write) about 2 rubles, which comes to about 7 rubles, just as I wrote to you and as I have been told in Minusinsk. Would it not be better to order a box yourself and send it? A device for filling cartridges, the simplest kind (I have one that cost a ruble seventy-five kopeks; the thing for getting the caps out is just a spike on a stick. In Schönbruner's price list, p. 75, fig. No. 133, the "ordinary local" kind are I ruble 75 kopeks). I do not need a game bag (when I kill anything I bring it home on a bit of ordinary string!), I have a cartridge pouch, a soldier's (leather) cartridge box that holds 12 cartridges, and the other 8 or 9 go in my pocket; there is also a sling, although it would be better to fit a ring for it in the shop, if it can be done. What do you mean by "caps of a suitable calibre"? Caps are the same size for all breech-loaders, aren't they? I am marking out the size

* It is as well to take the measurement if they test the gun in the shop, otherwise there will be a lot of trouble getting it.

** Arshin = 28 inches.—*Ed.*

*** Sagene = seven feet.—*Ed.*

of my caps at the top*; if they are not the same size you had better send about 500, of course, or even more; here only the kind I have are available.

With regard to wads—I use ordinary newspaper and thought buying them an unnecessary luxury. If I am wrong in that (if wads are important for striking power) and if they are really cheap (as you write), then send me either some wads or an instrument for cutting them (in the price list p. 92, 75 kopeks; I have heard that it is a very convenient thing to have. Write and tell me whether you use one and what sort of cardboard you use). There is no need to buy a cover specially—I have a simple one, the old one they gave me in the shop in Krasnoyarsk with the gun.** One of the comrades tells me that wire brushes are very useful.

I think that is all. If there is a second-hand gun that has been tested and has no defects in the barrel, of course it is worth while taking it. Address the gun to Yelizaveta Vasilyevna. There is no great hurry—it should be here by March 1, and even the end of March will be all right.

I am very, very glad that your case is taking a turn for the better, and that there are fresh hopes of getting into the University. The mistake at the beginning of § II of Chapter IV (p. 346) you did well to notice; thanks for that. It should read $41._3$ million chetverts[130] and not $14._3$.*** In my first rough copy I had it right, in the second rough copy I made a mistake and did not notice the absurdity. *Please send the correction immediately*. With regard to the word "rational" in the quotation from Kablukov, there is no need to change it; there is no doubt that here Kablukov means "reasonable" and not technically rational; *I also* understood "rational" to mean "reasonable" and not "technically rational". I ridiculed him on this point because

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* Here Lenin drew an arrow pointing to the margin where he showed the size of the cap in pencil.—*Ed.*

** Will the cover from a single-barrelled gun do? Incidentally, I think it would be better to get one made here, they sting you badly in the shops.

*** *Collected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 257.—*Ed.*

his argument is pure tautology, since the Narodniks consider natural economy to be "reasonable". Should the reader understand "rational" in the second case differently from the first (i.e., different in Kablukov's words than in mine)?*

Tobacco plantations actually number 75—95—650 *thousand* (i.e., 75,000, 95,000, 650,000).**

Skating is something I do with the greatest of zeal. In Minusinsk, Gleb showed me a number of tricks (he is a good skater) and I have been practising them with such industry that once I hurt my hand and could not write for two days. My old skill has not been forgotten. This kind of exercise is far better than winter shooting, when you flounder up to your knees in snow, spoil your gun and rarely see any game!

All the best,
V. U.

Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

First published in 1929 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 6

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* *Collected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 256.—*Ed.*
** *Ibid.*, p. 300.—*Ed.*

73

TO HIS MOTHER

Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova,
Vinogradov's House,
Bronnitskaya Street,
Podolsk,
Moscow Gubernia

January 30, 1899

Yesterday, Mother dearest, I received *Neue Zeit* from Anyuta and a price list from Mitya. *Merci* for them. Today I read an announcement about *Nachalo*[131] in *Russkiye Vedomosti*. It is a good thing I have managed to finish my "markets" just in time for the beginning of *Nachalo* (I finished them at long last today. On Wednesday I am sending in the last two chapters) and now I shall be free to do a little work on current affairs. I have received a little book to review, but have not yet managed to read it.[132]

I do not remember whether I wrote about Anatoly being ill all the time. He has had another misfortune; an order has arrived transferring him to the village of Antsiferovo (several dozen versts to the north of Yeniseisk on the road to Turukhansk)[133]—further banishment to punish him because an exile by the name of Makhnovets (who only arrived this winter) ran away and gave somebody Anatoly's address. From this the conclusion was drawn in some incomprehensible manner that Anatoly must have known about the escape! So far Anatoly has not been moved because of his illness—he cannot even go out of the house. He has applied to be transferred to Minusinsk District or to Russia for treatment.

Nothing has been heard about Yuly's transfer.

Three exiles have also been transferred from the village of Kazachinskoye (where A. A. Yakubova lives); those transferred are Lengnik, to a place not far from us, Arefyev and Rostkovsky, so the Kazachinskoye colony has been very, very much thinned out.

Kurnatovsky (he lives in the village of Kuraginskoye, some 100 versts away from us) asked to be transferred to Shusha; he has been refused; he is now being transferred to the village of Yermakovskoye (about 40 versts from Shushenskoye), where he will be quite alone.

We are having exceptionally good weather; very light frosts (10-12°), bright days and sunshine that is already springlike. This is not a Siberian winter!

Many, many kisses for you and regards to all.

Yours,
V. U.

Sent from Shushenskoye

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74

TO HIS MOTHER

February 3, 1899

Today, Mother dearest, I am sending you the last two parts of my "markets", Chapters VII and VIII, and two Appendices (II and III)[134] and the headings of the last two chapters. At last I have finished a work that at one time had threatened to drag on infinitely. I would ask Anyuta to send them on to the writer as soon as possible together with the enclosed review of Gvozdyov's book. The writer sent me the book "for review" and I thought it would be awkward to refuse from here. But I did not enjoy writing the review. I did not like the book—nothing new, generalities, an impossible style in places (he writes about "connivances at farming" and things like that). He is at the same time a supporter and an opponent of the Narodniks and, most important of all, a *Nachalo* collaborator. Little as I like that "Samara" spirit,* I nevertheless decided to restrain myself and fill up four-fifths of the review with remarks against the Narodniks and one-fifth against Gvozdyov. I do not know whether the editors will like it; I do not know their relations with the "Samarans". Nadya is writing to the *écrivain*'s wife about all this today.

Many kisses for you and best regards to all.

V. U.

Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

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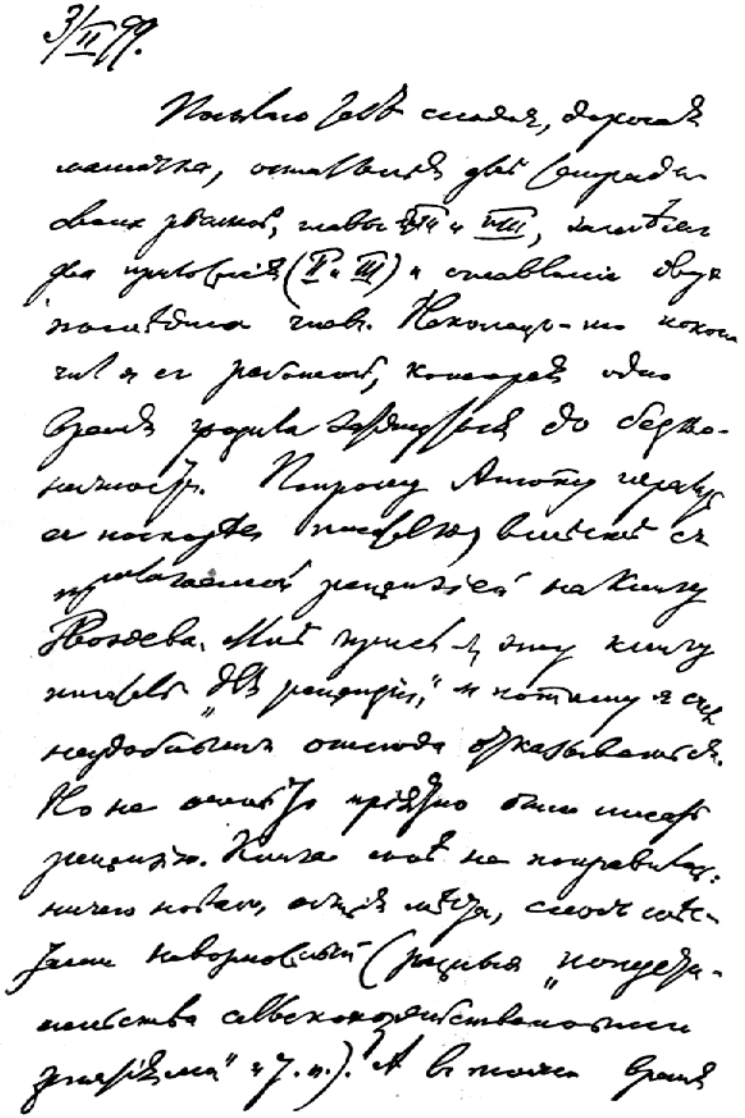
* See Note 40.—*Ed.*



The first page of Lenin's letter to his mother
February 3, 1899

75

TO HIS MOTHER

February 7, 1899

Today I am sending you, Mother dearest, another small package (registered)—first, the issue of *Izvestiya*[135] I was asked to return and, second, a review[136] that I ask you to pass on to the writer. By the next post I will send a little addition to Chapter VII. I hope it will not be too late. I think I forgot to write last time that according to my rough calculation the whole book contains about 934,000 letters. This is not very much, altogether something like 467 printed pages, counting 2,000 letters to a page. If, however, there are fewer letters to the page, for instance 1,680 (as in Tugan-Baranovsky's *Crises*)—which, of course, would make the edition unnecessarily expensive—there will be about 530 pages.

Anyuta apparently did not receive the letter (written a very long time ago) in which I asked her to send me (1) a decent German translation of Turgenev and (2) a detailed German grammar (oven one in German for Germans, because those for Russians are usually very brief).* I want to make a real study of German. Now I ask you to send me a Russian-German Dictionary, one of those we have at home, Lenström, or bettor, Reiff's dictionary of Russian and three European languages. I wanted to order Pavlovsky's

* See Letter No. 65.—*Ed.*

Russian-German Dictionary from Kalmykova's, but it is being issued in parts and only half of it has appeared.

Yours,
V. U.

Regards to all.

Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

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76

TO HIS SISTER ANNA

February 13, 1899

Anyuta,

I have received your letter of January 27 and am delighted with the news about the "markets". If my letter of January 10 was, as you say, too pessimistic, this one will probably be far too optimistic. I am very grateful to V. A., Mitya and especially you for the trouble you have taken with the book, about the fate of which—as far as a satisfactory edition is concerned—I am now quite reassured. With regard to the title—I am inclined to agree that mine is too long; it is, true enough, a necessary one, but it would be better as a sub-title. The title itself should be more modest than *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*, which is too bold, too broad and promises too much. *On the Problem of the Development of Capitalism in Russia* would, in my opinion, be better. *I did not receive* Ribot's booklet (*Affektivnaya pamyat*) which you say you sent.[137] There seems to have been a delay, either in your sending the registered packet or in the delivery here.

I wrote in an earlier letter about the approximate number of letters in the entire composition, so it should be easier for you to calculate how many more pages there will be. I am anxiously awaiting the first two chapters—typographically the second is the most difficult. You did well to convince V. A. not to make changes "according to sense" (incidentally, with regard to the little illustration you were

quite right—that is indeed what I meant to say, little and not nice. As regards sharpness of tone, I am now in favour of toning down such passages and decreasing their number. I have realised that they are much stronger in print than in speech or in a letter, so one must be more moderate in this respect). I am also very, very pleased with the tables, with your having convinced the printer not to omit decimal fractions but to print them below the level of the whole numbers and in a different type and not to print the tables sideways. Even if it makes the publication somewhat dearer, it does not matter very much. Judging from your approximate estimate of the cost, you will probably be able to fix the price at no more than 2 rubles 50 kopeks for an edition of 2,400 copies.* With regard to all that, however, I leave it entirely to you to decide. It will also be interesting to see how well the diagram comes out.[138] What do the statisticians say about it (V. A. and the other**)? Several remarks have been made to me about its being unusual. Does it serve its purpose of being clear and convincing?

The publisher*** wrote to me about the "Heritage"; there is a certain grain of truth in his remarks.[139] As far as the Samarans are concerned, I doubt very much whether they have said anything sensible (I have already had a letter about the accusation of "bourgeois sympathies").[140] The question of "from whom we received the inheritance" is not the one I posed in my reply to Mikhailovsky—do we renounce that heritage "that *Moskovskiye Vedomosti* attacks" and which I gave an exact definition of?[141] If polemics were to be started against the Samarans on the fundamental question of the attitude of Marxism to the liberal-enlightener trends, and of the role and significance of the "extra-economic", it would be very interesting and useful.

All the best to you, Mark and Mitya, and many kisses for Mother.

V. U.

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* To make the book cheaper for the public it would be a good thing to sell it for cash from the office of the journal, etc., with a discount—for 1 ruble 75 kopeks, say. I do not know whether it can be done.

** It is not known who the other statistician was.—*Ed.*

*** A. N. Potresov.—*Ed.*

Today Mikhail Alexandrovich (Silvin) passed through here. He has been transferred to the village of Yermakovskoye (some 40 versts from us). He seems quite well, physically and mentally; he has changed little; we were very glad to see him.

I am sending you yet another addition to Chapter VII.[142]

I am surprised that O. Popova is taking so long in setthug up for Webb.[143] Nadya said that the terms were to pay the translator in any case, even if the censor banned publication of the book. Our finances are again at rock bottom. Please send 200 rubles to Y. V.'s address. If there is still nothing from O. Popova and nothing is expected for a week or two, I would ask you to borrow the money; otherwise we shall be in trouble.

Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

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77

TO HIS MOTHER

February 21, 1899

I am sending you another review, Mother dearest, and ask you to send it on to the writer.[144] I have never received the Ribot booklet that Anyuta promised; I am surprised at this and it is strange that Anyuta should single out the page on which the type is supposed to be the same as that used in the "markets"—page 24. Is Ribot's book set in different types? This book is of no importance to me in itself, by the way, since I hope to get the first batch of proofs soon.

We are all well here, there is no change, but we are expecting visitors this week.* We are enjoying spring weather; it has been thawing for several days.

Yours,
V. U.

Regards to all.

Nauchnoye Obozreniye for some reason do not think it necessary to send me either the first issue of the journal or reprints of my article. I have heard about P. Struve's objection but have not yet seen it.[145]

Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

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* See next letter.—*Ed.*

78

TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA

February 28, 1899

Today we said "Good-bye" to our guests, Mother dearest; the people from Minusinsk came here—Gleb, Basil, Z. P., local workers and others—and stayed here from Wednesday till today (Sunday). We had an excellent time and are now returning to our usual tasks. The Minusinsk people intend asking permission to come here for the summer; conditions are very bad in town in the summer. I do not know, however, whether material circumstances may not keep them tied to the town. If they can come here we shall be able to spend an excellent summer. Elvira Ernestovna, Gleb tells us, is ill all the time. A. M. did not come—she is acting as district nurse in the village of Kuraginskoye.

Many kisses,

Yours,

V. U.

Are you planning how to spend the summer and what are you thinking of doing?

Anyuta,

I have received the issues of *Neue Zeit*;[146] *merci* for them and for the agricultural returns,[147] and also for the clean proofs of "markets". I was very much pleased with the last. You must have had a lot of trouble with them, but as a result there are practically no misprints. I have not found any in the tables (although you write about them) and those in the letterpress are a mere bagatelle. I think the type is satisfactory. There will be about 30 printer's signatures (that is the maximum, there will probably be fewer), just the number I counted on. The tables have been set excellently. It is particularly good that the decimal fractions stand out well and there are no tables printed

sideways.* The tables set in 6 point (p. 46) and in 5 point (p. 39) have come out very well—I could not wish for anything better.[149] The sub-titles and the numbers of the sections are all set in suitable type. In short, on this occasion I have no reason to regret that the author cannot read the proofs. In one of my next letters I shall send you a short list of my acquaintances to whom I should like you to send the book directly from Russia. It would cost more to send a lot of copies to me and for me to send them from here, and it would be less convenient. I hope that by the time you receive this letter you will have gone a long way past the second chapter, which, from the proof-reader's point of view, is the most treacherous chapter. I shall give the Preface a little more thought—perhaps I shall send another, or perhaps the old one can stay.[150]

I am adding a list of misprints to this letter.

I have received *Nauchnoye Obozreniye* No. 1 with the article by P. B. Struve against Ilyin only from the Minusinsk people. I am thinking of answering it, although it seems to me that P. B.'s article is more *for* than against me. I do not know whether I can now write and quote from the "markets", i.e., will they be out in the first half of April? Write and tell me what you think. (It is important for me to quote in order to avoid repetitions.)[151]

All the best,

Yours,

V. U.

I am enclosing a letter to Mark.

I do not know whether it would be convenient to write to him at your address or direct. (Administration of the Moscow-Kursk Railway—is that enough?)[152]

Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

First published in 1929 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 6

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* There are column headings printed sideways but they are not in the least inconvenient. In exceptional circumstances, tables printed sideways are not so bad, but those set in 5 point type and upright are much better. It will be a good thing if the table on p. 504 can be set in 5 point type.[148]

79

TO HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW

February 28, 1899

Mark,

I received your letter of February 8. Your chess game came in very handy. The people from Minusinsk were here at the time as visitors and as they are now enthusiastic chess players we had some exceedingly tough battles. We analysed your game, too. Judging by that, you have begun to play much better. You must have given much thought to each move and (perhaps?) consulted your neighbours. Otherwise, you know, I shall now be afraid to play against a man who has defeated Lasker![153]

With regard to the "forces of the true believers" arrayed against me for my article on the "heritage"[154]—I await with interest something in the press about this. The fundamental question of "support" is, in my opinion, a very important one (in connection with the question of "economics" and extra-economic relations. By the way, do the forces connect the two issues?). It would be very useful and very interesting to talk on this subject to people who do not limit themselves to Gvozdyov's theories (have you road his book about kulaks? I think it is very, very weak*). We shall wait a while.

I read your remarks on the "markets" with great interest. We shall see what sort of impression they produce as a whole—what the critics say, especially those who are to our way of thinking. It is now impossible to correct the

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* See Letter No. 74.—*Ed.*

book (except in individual passages, of course), that is, it is impossible to change its general character, its laconic style (as it is there are about 500 pages! More would be absolutely impossible!)—masses of figures, tables, etc., and a narrow subject. Only one correction would have been possible here—to divide the book into two parts or two volumes and spend a year or two on reworking each of them. For various reasons I found this plan not very suitable. The question of foreign markets is touched upon in general terms only in Chapter VIII, in one § and in connection with the problem of the border regions of Russia. In general I had to reject the examination of the foreign market completely.

I have not heard anything at all about your plans to leave your job. Which school of engineering do you think of entering? A higher school? How many years is the course and what rights does the diploma give you? Are you thinking of becoming an engineer-technologist? Will you be excused a year or two, i.e., not have to take the first part of the course, since you are a graduate of a mathematical faculty?

All the best,
V. U.

Regards from Nadya and Y. V.

Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

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80

TO HIS MOTHER*

March 7, 1899

This week, Mother dearest, I have received three little books by Turgenev in German. *Merci* for them. I am glad you got the *Reclaim* edition—I think it is the most convenient. I am now waiting for a dictionary from Russian into German (I remember we had two—Lenström and Reiff, an old dictionary from Russian. The latter would be better, although the first of them is quite all right), and also some sort of a grammar. I wrote about this to Anyuta; Mark has a *Book about Books* in which several *detailed* German grammars written in the *German* language are listed. I wanted to order Pavlovsky's Russo-German Dictionary from Kalmykova but it seems that it is not finished and is being published piecemeal.

I am now finishing an article[155] in reply to Struve.** It seems to me he has got things badly mixed up and his article may cause a good deal of misunderstanding among supporters and malicious glee among opponents. If it is not possible to place the reply in the journal (for the simple reason that Tugan-Baranovsky or Bulgakov will get their answers in first; I still have not had the January issue of *Nauchnoye Obozreniye*) I think I shall include it in the "markets" as a fourth Appendix (the article is no more than

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* An envelope addressed to Lenin's sister Maria in Brussels in his mother's band was attached to this letter.—*Ed.*

** At this point Lenin's mother added a note, apparently for her daughter Maria: "We read it with pleasure; it is well written."—*Ed.*

about sixteen pages). Of course it would be better in the journal.

There are no changes here. The weather is warm. Spring is already making itself felt.

There is little good news from the comrades. Apollinariya Alexandrovna was allowed to go to Yeniseisk for three weeks. Poor Anatoly is sick all the time, his temperature goes up to 40° C. They say he has consumption—he is not allowed to know this, of course. His transfer to Minusinsk District has still not been settled.

Yours,
V. U.

Many kisses. Y. V. and Nadya send regards.

Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

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81

KRUPSKAYA AND LENIN TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA

Mlle Marie Ouljanoff,
Rue des Minimes, 40,
Bruxelles,
Belgique

March 7

Again I am guilty of great unpunctuality, dear Manya, but do not be angry. Your letter came just before our guests arrived. We resolved to celebrate Shrovetide in style and invited everyone from the town (six people).* Our quiet Shusha suddenly became crowded and noisy. We spent the time in real holiday fashion and the five days passed before we realised it. On the last day Mikhail Alexandrovich also came (he is now our nearest neighbour and we hope to see him often—he lives 35 versts from here). After the visitors it took us all a long while to get back to normal again. Volodya has immersed himself in an article in reply to Struve. Still that eternally new question of the markets. It looks as though Volodya will have to put in quite a lot of time on polemics in defence of the postulates made in his *Studies*. He intends to write about Kablukov, too. I have no regular occupation, I just read. I have now been ten whole months in Shusha and have not managed to get anything done, I am always going to do something. Spring is in the air. The ice on the river is covered with water all the time and the sparrows in the willow trees are chirping furiously; the bullocks low as they pass up and down the street and the landlady's hen under the stove

* See Letter No. 78.—*Ed.*

clucks so loudly in the morning that she wakes everyone up. The streets are muddy. Volodya is more and more often thinking of his gun and waders, and Mother and I are thinking of planting some flowers. From this description you can get some idea of the way we pass our time and will realise that there is not a great deal of material here for letter-writing. Judging by your letter, your life is the exact opposite of ours—there is life and movement all round you. You seem to be entering into local life and to be full of its interests. Thanks for the newspaper cuttings, send some more. Your irritation at your lack of knowledge of French only impresses upon us the pitiful knowledge of languages that Volodya and I possess—his knowledge is a little better, but mine is very poor. We have got hold of Turgenev in German and intend to start translating from Russian into German, but so far we have neither a dictionary nor a grammar and, even if we had, it is hardly likely we should study. Apparently we shall get to know languages only when we go abroad and necessity forces us to study them seriously. When are you thinking of coming home? Will you have to take any examinations? Do you feel very homesick in Brussels? Have you many friends?

Oh yes—did you know that Anatoly is very ill? The doctors have diagnosed consumption and he has a high temperature all the time. Kuba was given permission to go to Yeniseisk for three weeks and she has gone there. She writes rarely and only to clear her conscience, so I don't know how she is getting on—probably not too well. Zina is still the same as usual, merry and vivacious. And so, good-bye. Many kisses. All the best. Mother asks me to kiss you. Write more often.

Yours,
Nadya

Best wishes, Manyasha, and I, too, thank you for the cuttings. I have nothing to add to Nadya's letter.

V. U.

Written March 7, 1899
Sent from Shushenskoye

First published in 1931
in Lenin's *Letters to Relatives*

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82

TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA

March 17, 1899

Yesterday, Mother dearest, I received your letter of February 28. A very big *merci* for your photograph. I think it came out quite well and I am all the more glad because the one I have is rather old. It would be wonderful if you could visit us in Shusha. In summer the journey is a relatively easy one—by rail to Krasnoyarsk and then by steamer to Minusinsk (at the beginning of May the steamers do not usually go as far upstream as Minusinsk but in summer they go further, sometimes, though rarely, even to Shusha). Shusha is not a bad place to stay in summer. Gleb and Basil are applying for permission to be transferred here for the summer (summer in Minusinsk is very bad); I do not know whether permission will be given.* Manyasha wrote to us recently and we are writing to her today.

Y. V. received the money.

It is a good thing that Mitya intended going for a gun soon after your letter. The shooting season here begins at the end of March and we are already discussing plans for the shoot.

Many kisses and congratulations for your name day. This letter will probably arrive before the first of April.

Yours,
V. U.

Y. V. sends regards, Nadya will also write to you today.**

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* It was not.—*Ed.*

** This letter has been lost.—*Ed.*

Anyuta,

I have received the *Izvestiya*[156]—a big *merci* for it—and the clean proofs.* By and large I am very pleased with them; the book is neatly printed, the tables are clear and without misprints, and very few of the tables are printed sideways. But I don't know about the diagram, how did that come out? I am sending you a list of the misprints in signatures 4 to 11. A few of them (I have underlined them) either make reading difficult or distort the meaning (these are very few). Perhaps it will be convenient for you to do this: in addition to the list of misprints at the end of the book you put in a special sheet at the beginning (it should be glued in) asking the reader to correct, before reading, the most important misprints, of which these (the ones I have underlined) are of significance, the remainder being given at the end of the book. I believe this is sometimes done.

Since it is no use hoping for any book to appear without misprints, I can tell you (contrary to your expectations) that I feel *fully* satisfied. As far as accuracy is concerned the *Studies* will not compare at all with this publication; there are few misprints and most of them are quite unimportant.

As for the contents, do as you please; you may confine it to the section headings or add the detailed contents I have compiled.[157]

I am sending a list of acquaintances to whom I would like you to send the book when it comes out. Mitya will have plenty to do sending off such a heap of packages! But that is better than sending a lot here (three copies will be enough for me).

I am also sending a Postscript to the *Preface*. If it is not too late I should very much like to print it, so as to make reference to Kautsky's splendid book.[158] Perhaps it will be possible to set the Postscript, even if the Preface has already been set. As soon as you receive this, write and

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* These were the proofs of Chapters II and III of *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*.—*Ed*.

let me know whether it is possible and, in general, when the end is expected.

V. A-ch has let himself in for a job! It must be very difficult to read the proofs of such a book!

All the best, and regards to all.

Yours,
V. U.

Columbus and the doctor have not written to me for a long time.

Anyuta,

I have one other request to make of you. Perhaps you will chance to be in St. Petersburg or will see the writer—if so, please find out about the Webbs' book. Why have they not paid any fee for it all this time, for, according to Nadya, it should have been paid irrespective of whether the book appeared or not. We should get it out of O. Popova. We are not writing to the writer about it because we think this question cannot really be dealt with in writing. I tell you only in case you see him personally.*

Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

First published in 1929 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 6

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* There follows, in the original, a list of the misprints.—*Ed.*

83

KRUPSKAYA AND LENIN TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA

Mlle Marie Ouljanoff,
Rue des Minimes, 40,
Bruxelles,
Belgique

March 17

My greetings will not arrive in time, dear Manya, they will be late, but I nevertheless send you many, many kisses. Thanks for the views of Brussels, although I do not want to think of foreign countries too soon, I do not even want to think about Russia. All I allow myself to think about is the summer. In her last letter to us, M. Al. wrote that she is coming to see us this summer with Anyuta, and today in a letter to Podolsk I plunged into a description of the charms of Shusha.* I even outlined a trip to Lake Perovo, where we shall catch crucians and fry them. You see, the Minusinsk crowd are asking to come to Shusha for the summer, and we are thinking of acquiring a horse, so that it will be easy to go everywhere. I have become quite a "patriot" and can talk with great enthusiasm about the Yenisei, the islands, the forest, etc. All the same I am sorry I am not a man; I should wander around a lot more. Although I should very much like to see you, I do not intend to tempt you with Shusha, because, speaking impartially, Shusha is a village like any other, and if I were asked today to choose between a place to spend the summer—near Moscow or in Shusha, I should choose the former.

* The letter has been lost.—*Ed.*

Volodya is now greatly interested in Kautsky's *Agrarfrage* and is writing a review of it.* So far I can only glance at the book and lick my chops. In general, we have quite a lot of books and the very abundance of them only makes one conscious of how much there is to be read and how little one reads. We are not yet receiving *Nachalo*, so far only that boring *Russkoye Bogatstvo*.

However, I must stop. Mother sends you kisses and congratulations. Volodya intends to write himself.

We received M. Al.'s photo in the last post. It is an excellent likeness, isn't it?

Many kisses,

Yours,

Nadya

March 17

I apologise, dear Manyasha, that this time, too, I am writing very little, just adding my congratulations to Nadya's. The fact is that today a lot of letters have to be written to Turukhansk (the post goes once a month),[159] and then I have to send Anyuta a list of the misprints in the clean proofs she sent me.

We have very little news. There is a lull in literary activity—we keep waiting. Foreign newspapers write of events in St. Petersburg and Finland (judging by *Frankfurter Zeitung*) but what they write is inked over, so we know very, very little.[160]

All the best. Perhaps *au revoir*?

Yours,

V. U.

Written March 17, 1899
Sent from Shushenskoye

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* See *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, pp. 94-99.—*Ed.*

84

TO HIS MOTHER

Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova,
Vinogradov's House,
Bronnitskaya Street,
Podolsk,
Moscow Gubernia

March 21, 1899

I am sending you a note (or a review) on Kautsky's book, Mother dearest; I would ask Anyuta to send it on. I have not yet received the first issue of the journal.* We hope to get it the day after tomorrow.

If Anyuta has not yet written anything to Manyasha about German books, is she going to write? If Manyasha is leaving soon, let her leave instructions at the post office to send books on to some other address (a friend's, etc.). Perhaps Anyuta will also write to her about her own friends? If possible I should like to obtain the missing issues of *Novoye Vremya* for 1897-98.

Many kisses and regards to all.

V. U.

Sent from Shushenskoye
First published in 1929 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 6

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* The journal referred to was *Nachalo*.—*Ed*.

85

TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA

April 4, 1899

I have received your letter and Mitya's, Mother dearest. There is no need for you to worry about a place to stay in Shusha, there is plenty of room here. We had four visitors staying with us at Shrovetide. If your health permits we should be very, very glad to see you, so as not to have to wait until my term is up (sometimes the term is extended—although I hope mine will not be). Nadya is writing in greater detail,* but as regards the season I must make a correction to her letter, at the beginning of May the water is still low—the steamer put us ashore half way. It is no good travelling an extra hundred versts by road. The best thing is to reach Krasnoyarsk at the *end* of May, when you can easily go by boat as far as Minusinsk, and from there it is only 55 versts. As a summer resort Shusha is not much worse than any other, I think (if worse it is). It is only a question of the journey.

There is no need for you to be worried about the gun. I am used to it and am very careful.** Shooting is the only form of amusement here, and some sort of "loosening up exercise" is necessary because of my sedentary life.

Thank Mitya for the trouble he took over the gun (which I have not yet received).

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* See Krupskaya's Letter No. 15.—*Ed.*

** A centre-fire gun is much safer than an ordinary one.

I read in *Russkiye Vedomosti* that Mark beat Chigorin! So that's what he's like! I'll have to cross swords with him one day!

Many kisses for you and regards to all.

Yours,
V. U.

By the way, I almost forgot—some books will be sent to you C.O.D. from Vyatka. They are for me; please ask Mitya to make a list of them and send it to me.

April 4, 1899

Anyuta,

I have received *Prakticheskaya Zhizn* and Heyse's *German Grammar*. Many thanks for the latter, it is an excellent book. I wrote you last time that I had received Tsion.[161]

By the last post I sent a telegram to Petersburg in answer to the following, which I received on March 26. "Proposed price of book two rubles, author's royalties about 1,500 rubles, wire consent Kalmykova's warehouse."* I gave my consent—because I cannot, after all, haggle by telegraph—and on the eve of publication! How can I hold it up for that! Actually I am not much in favour of that "consent". I was rather surprised that they (who? I do not know, there is no signature) should have done things in a roundabout way and, instead of asking you as the person in charge of the whole business, applied directly to me. I now regret that I did not answer "Apply to Yelizarova in Moscow, she is in charge of the affair." That is how I should have answered! Because 1,500 is very little for three years' work, it works out at 50 rubles a printer's signature. Furthermore, since the *Studies* are selling exceedingly well there need be no worry about the "markets". If that is the case there is no reason for making the booksellers a present of 30 per cent. One could, if the publisher were a more practical man or woman, offer the booksellers half that percentage and also sell the book through the *Nachalo* office, which, it is to be hoped, would not refuse. By the

* The telegram has been lost.—*Ed.*

way, it is probably a waste of time writing all this now, since the deed seems to have been done. Of course, we shall have to make concessions on the fees because of the cheapness of the book. Since it is not we, but other people, who are publishing the book there is no sense in making special claims. And so, all the preceding is merely platonic contemplation and not "business" propositions.

I believe it most probable that even the list of misprints in signatures 11 to 16 (I received them from you the day before yesterday) will be too late, so I am sending it only in case, and without making a fair copy.*

I have at last received issue No. 1-2 of *Nachalo* from comrades. (Please subscribe to it for us, if you have not done so. I did a very foolish thing in again relying on the *écrivain*. I hope I shall not be so silly in the future.) In general, I liked it very much, but B. Avilov is rather weak, more scathing than sound.[162] Bulgakov simply made me mad; such nonsense, such utter nonsense, and such eternal professorial pretentiousness—what the devil is this?![163] No wonder *Syn Otechestva* has already praised him! We'll see how he finishes up. I am thinking of writing "about Kautsky's book and Bulgakov's article".[164] I have given up the plan to write about Kablukov, he is not worth a second article. The *écrivain*, as usual, is silent, and we do not expect any information on journal affairs from him although we feel a considerable need for such information.

All the best,
V. U.

Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

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* This list has been lost.—*Ed.*

86
TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA

April 11, 1899

I received Mitya's parcel on Tuesday, Mother dearest. Send him a big *merci* for all his trouble. I am pleased with the gun (the weather is bad at present; the usual spring squalls—strong winds from across the Yenisei; so there has been practically no shooting). A charge of 2¾ measures seemed too big (the gun kicks) and so I have begun using 2½ measures. I don't understand how they could have used 3 in the shop! I have not yet been able to observe that the left barrel is better than the right—probably because I fired from too great a distance, 60 paces or so, about 30 sagenes.

If you come here bring some plain black tulle for mosquito nets—I cannot go about here without a net. The locality is rather swampy. And also, please bring me another 200 wads for powder and for shot (similar to those Mitya sent me. There are none to be had here, and they are light and easily packed).

At Easter I intend to make a shooting trip to a much better area.

Many kisses,

Yours,

V. U.

(Next Sunday there will be no post on account of Easter. Then the ice on the Yenisei may begin to move—it usually does soon after the twentieth of April. There may be some

interruption of our correspondence; but you should not let that worry you. Last year, I believe, there was practically no interruption.)

Anyuta,

I shall send to Mother's address by the next post an article on Kautsky and Bulgakov. Please send it on to the writer with a request that he inform you immediately whether the editors accept it. I believe it quite possible that they may not do so, because the *écrivain* is probably on Bulgakov's side and may find polemics inconvenient, especially sharp polemics. As far as possible I tried to modify my tone but I was unable to speak coolly about that disgustingly professorial and clumsy article, which strikes a terribly dissonant note. I do not, of course, want to restrict the editors' right to make "corrections", but there is no need to write about this since it is understood, unless the author makes specific provisos. If they do not accept the article, inform me, please, as quickly as possible and send the article, if you can, to. *Zhizn* or *Nauchnoye Obozreniye* [*Mir Bozhy* is hardly likely to accept it]. There has been no information from the writer on literary matters, and we do not hope for any. Meanwhile it is devilishly inconvenient to write without constant and regular communication. A long time ago, in January, I think, I wrote them (or Nadya wrote) that I intended doing an article about Kablukov; they did not inform me that they had another article.* You hear nothing about reviews. (The review of Kautsky's book should be cancelled or sent somewhere else in view of this article against Bulgakov.) You never know what they have and what they have not. It would be a very good thing, if it were possible, to start a correspondence with the Chicagoan, who is in the know and probably has fairly close connections, so that he could answer all questions and in general keep you *au courant* with journal affairs. I do not know whether this could be done.

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* The letter has been lost.—*Ed.*

How am I to send manuscripts if you (and Mother) go away?[165] In any case, leave the post office an address to which letters and parcels can be forwarded.

Oh, yes—in my article I have referred to my "markets". If the book does not come out by the time you send on the manuscript, please cross out the footnotes containing such references or write in the manuscript that they should be taken out.[166]

All the best,
V. U.

Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

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87

TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA

May 1, 1899

On Tuesday, Mother dearest, I received Anyuta's letter of April 12 and on Friday I received my book* (3 copies) and the manuscript of the translation. I am writing to Anyuta separately.

This year spring has come particularly early. The trees are breaking into leaf and the water in the river is rising rapidly. The steamer could no doubt get as far as Minusinsk already, but nobody can say definitely whether the high water will last and for how long.

Mikhail Alexandrovich (Silvin) wrote me that his fiancée wants to visit him at the end of May (not earlier than the 23rd). Her name is Papperek (Olga Alexandrovna), address, Yegoryevsk in Ryazan Gubernia (she teaches at a secondary school there). If you decide to come, perhaps you could set out together. In any ease it will provide a convenient opportunity to send things. Mikhail Alexandrovich has asked her to call at Podolsk on the way, but you must, of course, get in touch with her because there may be circumstances that prevent her from doing so. Yermakovskoye (where M. A. lives) is 40 versts from here, and the road there from Minusinsk is through Shushenskoye.

Yours,
V. U.

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* *The Development of Capitalism in Russia.—Ed.*

Many kisses and regards to all.

How are you fixed up now? How are you feeling? When are you expecting Manyasha?

May 1, 1899

Anyuta,

I have received your letter of April 12, my book and the Webb translation (*three* registered packages).

I am very pleased with the appearance of the book. The publication is excellent thanks to the great trouble you took with the proofs. It goes without saying that you did well to raise the price. It is quite enough that there will be a 25 per cent discount for students. Have you sent the book to all our acquaintances? I think you should take a further fifteen or so copies as the author's reserve; we shall have to exchange them for various symposia, etc. I have already written to you about the *Studies* and asked you to obtain a few more copies (send me two copies, but there is no hurry). I am very pleased with the title of the book; the *écrivain*'s correction proved worth while. If royalties arrive do not send them yet. (I am writing to Mother about a good opportunity to send things here that will soon occur.)

I am willing to take the job of editing the Webb translation. I shall edit it in conformity with my own translation of the first volume. Since I have been given the job of editing there is nothing else to wait for, and the first volume should be sent to the press immediately, should it not? Or will that again depend on P. B.'s "preparations"?

For the editing job the following are *indispensable*— (1) *the English original of Volume 2* (I have only Volume 1), (2) *the German translation* of Volume 2 (K. Hugo, I have only Volume 1 although Volume 2 has also been published). If these books have not yet been sent, please write quickly and tell them to send them immediately. I am afraid this may also cause a delay. Is it not possible to give someone the job of getting those books from them and sending them to me?[167]

I did not very much like P. B.'s sending my reply to him on to *Nauchnoye Obozreniye*; is he trying to avoid polemics in *Nachalo*?[168] If he is, my article about Bulgakov will

obviously not be published. At last I have received *Nachalo*—two issues, complete. By and large I liked it very much. But Bulgakov's article is outrageous. Kautsky he *distorts outright*, and then there is that attack on *Zusammenbruch*[169] —it is an echo of Bernstein's "criticism" [the warehouse refused to send me Bernstein's book; I have asked Manyasha, but I do not know whether she will bring it. Can you get it?] I am writing a second article against him.* Of course, polemics among one's own people are unpleasant and I tried to tone the article clown, but to keep quiet about differences is not only unpleasant, it is *downright harmful*—and, furthermore, one cannot keep quiet about the chief differences between "orthodoxy" and "criticism" that have come to the fore in German and Russian Marxism. Our opponents are already taking advantage of the differences anyway (Mikhailovsky in *Russkoye Bogatstvo* No. 4). While polemising among ourselves we can agree on general solidarity against the *Narodniks*. I want to do this at the end of my article.[170] One of Bulgakov's chief faults is that he did not say exactly in what he agrees with Kautsky against the Narodniks.

All the best,
V. U.

In *Nauchnoye Obozreniye* No. 3 I saw a note by Maslov against my article on the heritage. It seemed quite uninteresting.

I am sending Negri. And what are these farming returns?

A copy of *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* should be given to Maslov. Please do that through the *Nauchnoye Obozreniye* office or through P. B., or through V. A.

Please send all reviews of the book and ask V. A. to send those from the St. Petersburg newspapers.

Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

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* See Note 164.—*Ed.*

88

TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA

Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova,
Vinogradov's House,
Bronnitskaya Street,
Podolsk,
Moscow Gubernia

May 9, 1899

I have received a letter from Manyasha, Mother dearest, in which she says she is thinking of coming home soon. I shall await news of what you decide to do about coming here.

For the last few days we have had what the Siberians call strong "weather"—by "weather" they mean the wind that blows from across the Yenisei, from the West; it is cold and violent, like a whirlwind. In spring there are always whirlwinds that tear down fences, roofs and so on. I was out shooting in the pine grove and I actually saw huge birches and pines being uprooted by a whirlwind. Such unpleasant "weathers", however, occur only in spring and autumn, and if there is a wind in summer it is not strong, so that *should* not cause you any alarm. Today has been better—there seems to be a turn towards summer. From mid-May to mid-August there is no reason to beware of Siberian "weather".

Next Sunday I am sending to your address the manuscript of an article of mine*; if you go away, arrange for it to be forwarded to its destination.

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* The second article "Capitalism in Agriculture".—*Ed.*

We are all well and all of us send regards to you and everybody.

Many kisses,
Yours,
V. U.

Anyuta,

Today I finished my second article against Bulgakov. When I have corrected and rewritten it I will send it to Mother's address. I am anxiously awaiting a reply about the first article; I should get it by the middle of May.

Many of the "disciples"[171] are going over to *Zhizn*. Do you know who is actually the editor of it?

There is a very interesting discussion going on now in Germany over Bernstein's book—and I have not seen that book or anything written about it (with the exception of some casual notes in *Frankfurter Zeitung*). A great pity.

Has Mitya sent my book to everybody on my list? If V. A. was to send off some of them, please ask him if he has sent them to *everyone*. P. N. Lepeshinsky (Kuraginskoye, Minusinsk District, Yeniseisk Gubernia) wrote me, for instance, that he had *not received* the book, although he was on my list. I think you should have about fifteen reserve copies (there is no need to send them here).

All the best,
V. U.

Regards to Mark.

Sent from Shushenskoye

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89

TO HIS SISTER ANNA AND HIS MOTHER

May 29, 1899

Anyuta,

I have received your postscript to Mark's letter.

You had not previously written to me about a proposal that I write a short course of political economy. I have decided to refuse the offer; it is difficult to write to order (in particular, it is difficult to compete with Bogdanov. Why not republish his book?[172]), and it would be difficult to finish it by autumn. In general, I want to write less and read more. Since my correspondence with the *écrivain* has come to a complete halt, please let him know of my refusal.

I have not yet started on Webb. *I am still waiting* for the original (of Volume 2) and the German translation (of Volume 2). If there is a delay it will not be my fault. There is more reason to fear a delay on the part of the écrivain, incidentally. Is the first volume in the press?

I learnt that a telegram had been sent me about the publication of the book only from your letter. I am writing to the Minusinsk post office asking them to search for the telegram. Was the address correct? You should write: "*Minusinsk*, *to Shushenskoye by post*, *Ulyanov*", and pay seven or fourteen kopeks extra for postage. If you did not add "by post", it is possible that the telegram is still lying there. In general, I have not noticed that the despatch of telegrams to this place is a hopeless undertaking; others have arrived in time. You should send them so that they arrive in Minusinsk on Sunday or Wednesday evening and I will receive them on Tuesday or Friday morning.

I am sending the article on Sismondists that you asked for and the reply to Nezhdanov.[173] It would be most convenient to print the latter in the same *Zhizn*.* If, however, contrary to expectations *Nachalo* revives, I should prefer it in that journal.

I am now doing some reading and studying languages a little. In general I am doing very little work and do not intend writing anything.

I am very sorry the *écrivain* did not write anything to me about Gvozdyov. I wanted to curse him for all I was worth, but I saw that he was a contributor to the same journal and felt myself duty bound to be as gentle with him as possible. It would have been strange to squabble in the same journal. Perhaps the writer wanted to get rid of it—get rid of the "Gvozdyov school", as I now call these things. I do not know this and, in general, I do not know what sort of fellow Gvozdyov is. It is difficult to judge from a distance.

Yours,
V. U.

May 30, 1899

I am sending you a registered package, Mother dearest, containing my article and a reprint of the article on the Sismondists that you asked for. I am writing in greater detail to Anyuta and Mark, from whom I received a letter this week. It was strange that their letter (dated May 14) was postmarked "*Krasnoyarsk*". Was it sent by the Siberian express?

We here are all quite well and send regards to everybody.

Many kisses,
Yours,
V. U.

Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

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* If my answer to Struve has not yet been published, you might perhaps add this to it as a postscript and throw out my mention of a reply to Struve.[174]

90

TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS BROTHER

June 20, 1899

I have received your letter of May 31, Mother dearest. *Merci*. With regard to the statistical returns—from Tver and Vyatka—I think I have already written that *there is no need to send them all to me*; I am not working on this now and do not intend to until my term of exile is finished. If any particular book is needed it will be better for me to order it separately, otherwise I shall have a mountain of books to bring back. But you are probably sending only a few statistical returns. Mikhail Alexandrovich writes that he does not expect his fiancée until the end of summer.

We do not think it worth while asking for a transfer to Krasnoyarsk. We have been talking recently with Yelizaveta Vasilyevna, who is thinking of asking for permission for me to go with them to Ufa this autumn because of the difficulty of a winter journey for her and Nadya. If she carries out her intention I will let you know.

We have been paid our allowances.

We have news from Yermakovskoye that Anatoly is no better.

We have also heard that Lyakhovsky has made a trip to Chita as a doctor.

It is a pity you are having such bad weather and have no opportunity for a good rest in the country. June has been rainy here, too.

Life here goes on as usual. I am not working much at present and soon, when the shooting season opens, I shall probably work even less.

I have received the May issue of *Nachalo*—pretty badly cut up. I do not think there is anything of particular interest in it. I am losing all hope of that journal regaining its health. I have had a letter telling me that the Ministry of the Interior has demanded that the editors reveal the names of the authors who wrote in the first and in the April issues under pseudonyms. It would be interesting to know whether we have any mutual acquaintances among the "revealed".

Many kisses for you and regards to all.

Yours,
V. U.

Mitya,

I have seen *Nauchnoye Obozreniye* No. 5 and find that Tugan-Baranovsky's article in it is monstrously foolish and nonsensical; he has simply arbitrarily introduced changes into the rate of surplus value in order to "refute" Marx; he assumes an absurdity—a change in the productivity of labour without a change in the value of the product. I don't know whether every such nonsensical article is worth writing about. Let him first fulfil his promise to develop it in detail.[175] In general I am becoming a more and more determined opponent of the latest "critical stream" in Marxism and of neo-Kantianism (which has produced, incidentally, the idea of separating sociological from economic laws). The author of *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Materialismus** is quite right in declaring that neo-Kantianism is a reactionary theory of the reactionary bourgeoisie and in rebelling against Bernstein. I am extremely interested in Bogdanov's new book (*Osnovniye elementy istoricheskogo vozzreniya na prirodu*, St. Petersburg, 1899) and have ordered it; the review of it in the May issue of *Nachalo* was written ridiculously, with pompous phrases but no mention of the real problem. I am very sorry that I somehow missed the advertisement of the book when it was published. I think it should be a sensible book and that such a review should not be left unanswered.[176]

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* *Essays on the History of Materialism* by G. V. Plekhanov.—*Ed.*

Am very pleased with the gun. We did not shoot much in spring. Soon the real season will begin and I intend to spend more time shooting this summer.

All the best,
V. U.

Please send me a *list* of the Zemstvo statistical returns that have been sent to me—titles and brief contents, i.e., tables or tables+text, nothing else.

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91

TO HIS MOTHER

Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova.
Cottage No. 3,
Town Park,
Podolsk,
Moscow Gubernia

July 11, 1899

I am writing a few lines, Mother dearest, to tell you that we are all quite well. This week I received the books Manyasha wrote to me about (Labriola and Jules Guesde). *Merci* for them.

We have put off the journey to Minusinsk for a while. Perhaps we shall go for a short time this week. The weather here is rotten; it has been a bad summer, all wind and rain.

I have received a letter from Lyakhovsky; he has been working as a doctor, it seems, in Chita and thinks of going later to Sretensk, also as a doctor.

I still have not received the original of the Webbs' book, although the writer promised it.

Yours,
V. U.

Y. V. and N. K. send regards.

Sent from Shushenskoye
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92

TO HIS MOTHER

August 1, 1899

I do not think there is very much news this week, Mother dearest. The weather has changed to real summer, it is very hot and rather interferes with shooting, which I am indulging in very strenuously because it will probably be over soon.

I do not remember whether I wrote about the doctor (Y. M. Lyakhovsky), that he has made a trip to Chita as a doctor and intends to accept a similar post in Sretensk.

Visitors have arrived—M. A. with his wife and others. Excuse me for cutting this letter short. We are all well and send regards. I shall write to Anyuta soon about the *Credo* (which interests and *exasperates* me and everybody else) in detail.[177]

Many kisses,
Yours,
V. U.

Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

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93

TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER MARIA

Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova,
Cottage No. 3,
Town Park,
Podolsk,
Moscow Gubernia

August 7, 1899

I have received your letter of July 15, Mother dearest. A big *merci* for it and for carrying out my request in respect of Anatoly.* I hope to see him again in a few days; they say he is very bad, the blood is flowing from his throat and he even coughs up pieces of lung.... The Governor was in Yermakovskoye and gave Anatoly permission to go to Krasnoyarsk, but now he himself does not want to go.

We are expecting visitors today—Gleb and his wife and Basil from Minusinsk. It is said that Gleb has received permission to move to the railway and take a job as engineer. He will, of course, take advantage of the offer to get together a little money for his journey home. It would otherwise be rather difficult for him and Basil to get away from here, even impossible in winter.

We have not put in any requests after all—it doesn't seem to matter, we shall wait for January 29, 1900....** If only we can get away from here at that time—where we shall be till then is not important.

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* The nature of Lenin's request in respect of A. A. Vaneyev is not known.—*Ed.*

** The date Lenin's term of exile ended.—*Ed.*

E. E.'s health has improved. The Minusinsk people have had a good summer. A. M. has obtained a job in Minusinsk, I believe.

Many kisses for you and regards to all.

Yours,
V. U.

Manyasha,

I recently read Stammler's book here, in German, and felt very dissatisfied with it. In my opinion it is learned nonsense and fruitless scholasticism. It would be interesting to know who praised it to you. It is true that Struve and Bulgakov, both of whom, like Stammler, take a stand on neo-Kantianism,[178] praised it in *Novoye Slovo*. Stammler in my opinion is an excellent argument *against* neo-Kantianism. To attempt to fight Marxism armed with nothing but foolishly compiled *definitions* in the way Stammler does (he has never written anything but textbooks for students of Roman Law...) is too absurd an undertaking. It was correctly said in *Neue Zeit* (Cunow) that Stammler's book is of negative significance.

A few days ago I received the April issue of *Nachalo* and read almost all of it. It is very interesting in general and the article "Out of Turn" in particular.

Webb (the original) *we have still not received*! It seems I shall have to postpone it till my return since I can get nothing done.

I have read P. N. Skvortsov on markets in *Nauchnoye Obozreniye* No. 7[179]—in my opinion the article contains very little and the author's point of view is not clear to me. My reply to Struve has still not been published*—the devil knows, this is disgraceful and muddleheaded!

All the best,
V. U.

Sent from Shushenskoye

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* "Once More on the Theory of Realisation", *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, pp. 74-93.—*Ed.*

94

TO HIS MOTHER

Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova,
Cottage No. 3,
Town Park,
Podolsk,
Moscow Gubernia

August 15, 1899

I have received letters from Manyasha and Mitya. Mother dearest, informing me that you have received my telegram and have taken a firm decision not to make the journey.* Are you better now? When (and where) is Manyasha leaving? When are you moving to a new apartment or to Moscow? I am sending you today a registered package with a book I should have returned long ago. I apologise for the delay. Many kisses for you and regards to all.

Yours,
V. U.

Nadya and Y. V. send regards

Sent from Shushenskoye

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* This refers to a proposed trip to Shushenskoye.—*Ed.*

95

TO HIS MOTHER

Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova,
Cottage No. 3,
Town Park,
Podolsk,
Moscow Gubernia

August 22, 1899

The day before yesterday I received your letter, Mother dearest, letters from Anyuta and Manyasha, a book from Anyuta (*Nauchnoye Obozreniye*) and cuttings from Manyasha. *Merci* for everything. I was terribly pleased to know that you are up and about again. What caused the epidemic of malaria in Podolsk? Is it a swampy place? Do you feel quite well now? It looks like being a good autumn here, dry and warm. What is it like where you are?

Letters sent by express train do not seem to come any quicker than those sent by ordinary mail, which surprises me very much. I received your letter of August 7 on the 20th (and on the same day I also received the newspaper of the 7th). Is the delay not caused by the express train taking letters to Krasnoyarsk (at any rate the envelope bears the stamp "Krasnoyarsk 14.VIII") and from there a letter goes back to Achinsk (the post road is from Achinsk to Minusinsk)? Either this train does not stop at Achinsk or the mail is not taken off it there. That must be the reason, because letters go quickly from Moscow to Krasnoyarsk (from 7th to 14th) but the gain is lost on the way back from Krasnoyarsk to Achinsk.

As far as the transfer is concerned, *we only talked* about it but *did not submit any* applications. We do not think it worth while applying—we will wait until January 29, 1900.

Life here goes on as usual. The weather is fine and Nadya and I go walking a lot. We are all in good health.

I embrace you, Mother dearest, and hope you will keep well.

Yours,
V. U.

Sent from Shushenskoye

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96

KRUPSKAYA AND LENIN TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA

August 22

I received your letter long ago, dear Manya, but I have been terribly lazy lately and have got all behind with my letter-writing; there are several letters I must answer. It must be due to my present way of life; I spend whole days (as much as five hours at a time) out walking, somehow it is even difficult to read. The summer was foul, but autumn so far has been marvellous. Volodya also does a lot of walking, but he still does some work, although far less than before.

What have you decided? When are you leaving and where are you going? When I read your letter to Volodya in which you asked him what institution you should enter, I remembered what a quandary I was in at your age. First I decided to become a village schoolmistress, but I was unable to find a place and wanted to go to the provinces. Then when the Bestuzhev courses were started I joined them, expecting to be told about everything I was interested in, but when they began to talk about something quite different I left. In short, I was in a hopeless quandary. I was twenty-one before I heard that there was such a thing as the "social sciences"; up till then my idea of serious reading had been either the natural sciences or history, and so first I would try to read Rossmässler, then the history of Philip II of Spain. You are placed in very different circumstances. Whether it is worth while learning "how to make a living", I don't know; I think it is not worth while. If money is needed you can get a job on some railway, where at least you will be able to work off the necessary number of hours and have

no cares, you will be as free as a bird; but all this pedagogy, medicine and so on absorbs a person more than it should. It is a pity to waste time on special training when there is so much you want to know and should know, and, after all, your knowledge of languages will always feed you. Volodya and I are in trouble with languages; we both are rather bad at them; we take a lot of trouble over them, but we are still not good. We have taken up English again. How often we have done so before! I am beginning for the tenth time, at least. You are probably far ahead of me by now. Anya knows English quite well, doesn't she? But I keep forgetting to ask you whether you have made the acquaintance of Meshcheryakov? I believe he is in Moscow now. He is as much in love with Belgium as you are. At one time I corresponded with him, and I then had a good knowledge of all Belgian affairs and was very interested in them. If you see him, try to find out where his wife is. A friend of hers wrote me that she had gone to Munich. I should be sorry to lose touch with her. She is a very nice person. I don't know whether we shall ever meet again. All my St. Petersburg acquaintances have been so scattered in all directions that I don't know who is where. At first we wrote to one another, but now our correspondence is gradually drying up. It is no good writing letters, you can never really discuss anything, and you begin ... the result is that before you know where you are a misunderstanding arises. I do not know how Kuba is getting on, she wrote little, but it looked as if her nerves were giving out. But I have written so much there will be no space left for Volodya, so I had better stop. Many kisses for you, Maria Alexandrovna and Anyuta. Mother sends regards to all.

All the best,
Nadya

August 22, 1899

I was very pleased, Manyasha, when I read that at last you had got Bernstein for me;[180] I have been *and still am waiting very impatiently for it*. People have written to me from *Yakutia* that they are reading Bernstein and we

have not yet got it here! The more they shout about him, and the more various thick-headed bourgeois and "young" (in all respects) non-bourgeois make use of him, the more necessary it is to make the speedy acquaintance of this "newest" hero of opportunism.

On October 9, 1899 (N.S.) there will be a *Parteitag** in Hanover and they will talk about Bernstein.[181] I should *very much* like to have reports of it. Please try to get them for me; it is quite possible to do so in one of the following ways. Write to your acquaintances abroad (I ask Anya to do this, too) to send those issues of the newspapers in which the reports are printed, even if it is only *Frankfurter Zeitung*, which can enter Russia. If the acquaintances do not undertake to send either *Vorwärts*[182] or *Frankfurter Zeitung*, perhaps you can subscribe to *Frankfurter Zeitung for October* through the Moscow post office. (I know you can subscribe for three months, but that is too long and too expensive, 4 rubles 70 kopeks. Perhaps you can subscribe for a month?) If you are abroad yourself, then please buy those issues and send them.

I am not sending you any literary jobs because I am not writing anything now and do not intend to write. But if you go abroad I shall probably ask you to look out for some good old books for me.

All the best,
V. U.

Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

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* Party congress.—*Ed.*

97

TO HIS MOTHER

August 25, 1899

Last Sunday we returned home, Mother dearest, and got a letter from Manyasha with newspaper cuttings (a big *merci* for them), and then *Neue Zeit* from Anyuta and reprints (2) of my articles against Levitsky.[183] I was particularly glad to receive them. Anyuta wrote that you are still undecided whether to come here or not, and that you would come if you were sure the boat would take you to Minusinsk and back. When we read that, we decided to send you a telegram saying that the boats run until the middle of September (last year a boat took me as far as Minusinsk after the twentieth—of course, it was the last), so you would have time to come if you have fully regained your health and Mitya's case permits it. I hope you receive the telegram sent on the 22nd in good time. In reply to it we shall await either you in person or a letter. Up to now (for two years) autumn here has been fine, but I don't know what it will be like this year after a rainy summer.

Of the books sent by Anyuta I am particularly glad to have Mehring; I have just finished reading the second volume and am very, very satisfied. As far as the *Credo der Jungen** is concerned, I was amazed at the emptiness of the phrases. It is not a *Credo* but a pitiful collection of words! I intend to write in greater detail about it.

The writer's silence is exasperating. He does not send Webb. He does not publish articles about the "markets",

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* The creed of the young (Ger.).—*Ed.*

and nothing has been seen or heard about the anti-Bulgakov article. I think you should take back all the manuscripts and send them in to editorial offices yourselves so as to get precise and timely answers regarding whether they will be published, and to have direct contact. It is, of course, inconvenient for me to do it myself, but Anyuta could do it, I think, if other affairs do not prevent her from giving her time to it; it would be better to send them direct than to send them through the writer. If he has held up my article against him merely because he has not yet finished his own answer to it-that is simply swinish on his part! It is useless for me to write to him, because he does not answer.

Many kisses for you and regards to all.

Yours,
V. U.

Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

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98

TO HIS MOTHER

September 1, 1899

I did not manage to write to you on Sunday, Mother dearest, and am writing in the middle of the week.

Yesterday we received books by Bernstein and Vandervelde* and two issues of *Moskovskiye Vedomosti*—Bernstein was wrapped in one of them—and *half* another issue (No. 223) came *in a separate packet*, which surprised us more than a little. Has something been lost, or has there been a mistake?

As regards Bernstein—I have decided that I may consider it mine; Manyasha did not say exactly that she wants it back by a certain date, but wrote that she is taking steps to obtain another copy. I need that book very much. If, contrary to expectations, Manyasha needs the copy she sent me, she should write to me about it *immediately*.

Nadya and I started reading Bernstein's book immediately; we have read more than a half and its contents astonish us more and more as we go on. It is unbelievably weak theoretically—mere repetition of someone else's ideas. There are phrases about criticism but no attempt at serious, independent criticism. In effect it is opportunism (or rather, Fabianism—the original of many of Bernstein's assertions and ideas is to be found in the Webbs' recent books), unbounded opportunism and possibilism, and cowardly opportunism at that, since Bernstein does not want to attack the programme directly. There is little doubt but what it

* It is not known which of Vandervelde's books is referred to here.—*Ed*.

will be a fiasco. Bernstein's statement that many Russians agree with him ... (pp. 170 and 173, footnotes) made us very indignant. We people here must indeed be getting "old" and must be "lagging behind" the "new words" ... copied from Bernstein. I shall soon be writing to Anyuta on this subject in detail.*

Yesterday (at long last!) we received Webb, Volume II in English (no German—we are asking for it today)—without any letter or news about the first volume!

I now find that it is *essential* to make a few changes and add something to my article against Bulgakov. I will do this in thorough copy I have here. I ask Anyuta to demand the immediate return of the *second article* and to keep it until she receives my corrections.[184]

We have little news. Anatoly gets worse and worse. Gleb is leaving soon for Nizhneudinsk (Irkutsk Gubernia) to work on the railway. Yelizaveta Vasilyevna yesterday received a money order for 100 rubles.

Many kisses for you,

Yours,

V. U.

Regards from all.

P.S. I have found out that the *Frankfurter Zeitung* is delivered to someone not far from here, so you need not subscribe to it. I ask Manyasha to obtain for me (order from Dresden or try to find them among acquaintances) issues of the *Sächsische Arbeiterzeitung* for 1898 (1) containing Parvus's articles against Bernstein and (2) issues Nos. 253, 254 and 255 for 1898.[185]

Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

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* Here a letter in invisible ink is meant.—*Ed.*

99

TO HIS MOTHER

September 11, 1899

I have very sad news for you, Mother dearest. Anatoly died on September 8, and on September 10 we buried him at Yermakovskoye. There bad been no hope of his recovery for a long time past and the disease had been developing terribly fast lately. His wile is staying in Yermakovskoye for the time being. There is a threat that Mikhail Alexandrovich Silvin will be recruited for the army; he has received a notice to report in Minusinsk and is going there on September 14. If he is taken, he will have to serve two years—two months more than his term of exile.

Nadya and I have now got down to the second volume of Webb without waiting either for the proofs of the first volume (which would be very useful in editing the translation of the second volume) or the German translation of Volume II. The job will probably take quite a long time.

I am sending you with this letter a registered packet containing the corrections to my article about Bulgakov. I ask Anyuta to transfer these corrections to the manuscript (cutting out the old and pasting in the new) and to get in touch with the editors about its publication. I should like to know the fate of the article as soon as possible.

We are all well.

Many kisses, my dear, and regards to all.

Yours,
V. U.

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100

TO HIS MOTHER

October 17, 1899

This week I have received a lot of interesting things from home, Mother dearest, and send you many thanks for them all. I was very glad to make the acquaintance of the new French journal, which promises to be very interesting; the mere fact of its appearance under the editorship of Longuet is noteworthy.[186] I am finishing reading the Stuttgart minutes, also with considerable interest. And then, the booklet on the professional congress in Moscow (which I received on Friday) was also very interesting and instructive.[187]

There is a lull in the literary news. I believe I have already written about reading of the publication of Volume I of Webb and *ordering one for myself* because they apparently think it superfluous to send me one. I have heard about a new St. Petersburg paper—*Severny Kuryer*[188]—and intend to order it as soon as I see announcements in the press. Yuly wrote to me from Turukhansk that a lengthy article by M. Engelhardt had been published in *Novosti*; it was called "The Cards Are Being Revealed" and it simply tore Ilyin's book on capitalism to pieces. It would be interesting to read it if finding and purchasing that particular issue in Moscow would not be too much trouble. I rarely see *Zhizn*; the seventh issue was sent to me quite unexpectedly direct from St. Petersburg, maybe even direct from the editorial room (*sic*!!??!!). Comrades sometimes send me *Nauchnoye Obozreniye*; people living near here whom I am sometimes able to meet receive it.

There have been no changes here. How have you fixed yourselves up in Moscow? Who is going abroad, Anya or Manyasha, and when? Did you leave Mitya alone in Podolsk?

Many kisses for you and regards to everybody.

Yours.

V. U.

Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

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101

KRUPSKAYA AND LENIN TO LENIN'S MOTHER

January 19

Dear Maria Alexandrovna,

At last matters have been settled—we may go to Russia, no further term of exile being envisaged. We are sending our luggage off on the 28th and we ourselves shall leave on the 29th. We shall have company—V. V. and Olga Alexandrovna. The Lepeshinskys also intended going, but I have very grave doubts of their being ready in time. O. A. is in a hurry to get to M. A., who has been sent to Riga; V. V. is also in a hurry. We shall probably leave Minusinsk on the 30th. The only thing I am afraid of is that there may be a delay because of me. We did not realise until recently that we ought to find out whether I would have to apply for permission to travel at my own expense. V. V. asked the police officer and discovered that the application had to be made to the Police Department, since the local officer cannot issue me with a travel permit himself because he has received no instructions about me. We are today sending telegrams to the department and to the Knipoviches, but further complications are almost certain.[189] Volodya wants to stay in Ufa for a couple of days until we know whether I shall remain in Ufa or will be sent to some place like Sterlitamak or Belebei. We do not talk of anything but the journey nowadays. We have packed the books in a box and had it weighed—about 15 poods.* We are sending the books and some of our things by carrier; I don't think we shall have very many things. Because of the frosts we wanted to get a sleigh with a hood but we could not find, one in the

* Pood = 36 lbs.—*Ed.*

town and to have one made here is a risky business, it probably would not last as far as Achinsk. We have plenty of warm clothes so I don't suppose we shall freeze, and the weather seems to be getting warmer; yesterday Oscar saw a cloud somewhere and the temperature this morning was only 28° below. The worst of it, is that Mother keeps catching colds and is coughing again. Volodya and I go out every day, despite the frosts; we have become accustomed to fresh air but I don't know how Mother will make the journey. Still, I wish the 29th would come soon; once we are going we might as well go. The day of our departure seems to be so close that today Mother wanted to start making *pelmeni** to take with us. We have been advised to take *pelmeni* to eat on the way, everything else spoils in the frost. Mother intends making mountains of the stuff, with no fat or onions.

We are not doing much reading now. Volodya, incidentally, is writing a reply to Skvortsov.[190] We shall send Webb off today, at long last; he has made us thoroughly tired of him, I must say.

Well, good-bye. Many kisses, for you and for Manyasha and Anyuta. It is a pity I shall not be able to come to Moscow. Mother sends her regards.

Yours,
Nadya

You will probably receive this letter after a telegram from me. I hope we shall be meeting soon.

Yours,
V. U.

(I have heard [A. N. wrote] that the censor has slashed (!!) Prokopovich's book—and so I cannot answer him. A strange incident![191])

Written January 19, 1900
Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

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* Tiny meat dumplings.—Ed.

102

TO HIS MOTHER

March 15, 1900

I received your letter a few days ago, Mother dearest. I sent an application about Nadya on the 10th and shall soon be expecting an answer.[192] If the worst comes to the worst and the answer is unfavourable, I really am thinking of asking you (if you are quite well enough) to go there and see about it personally. That, however, is a matter for the future—we'll see when the time comes.

I have received *Zhizn*, so do not send me another.[193] Please ask Anyuta to send *Archiv* to *Nadya* (I have a second copy here for the time being). I am not doing too badly here, I go frequently to the library and do some walking.

Excuse the short letter—I am late for the post.

Many kisses for you and regards to all.

Yours,
V. U.

There is a doctor here who is well spoken of—I want to see him about my catarrh. They say there are various epidemics about in St. Petersburg now that spring is approaching.*

Sent from Pskov to Moscow

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* This is a reference to the arrests made there at the time.—*Ed.*

103

TO HIS MOTHER

Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova,
Kedrova's House,
Podolsk,
Moscow Gubernia

April 6, 1900

Today I received a letter from Manyasha (dated April 3), Mother dearest, in which she reproaches me for my silence. I really am at fault, I did not even congratulate you and Manyasha on April 1. The fact is that at that time I was once again "in a whirl" (as Nadya put it in a letter to the Siberian comrades) over the arrival of a long-expected traveller* (who has by now most likely arrived home).

Life goes on here as usual, I am quite well and today tried doing without my "waters". I take walks—walking is not at all bad here at present and, it seems, there are plenty of nice places in Pskov (and also in its environs). I have bought some postcards with views of Pskov in a local shop and am sending three of them—to you, Manyasha and Anyuta.**

Yesterday I received a letter from M. A., who writes (on April 4) that he is going back to Siberia (with O. A.) tomorrow or the next day—the army authorities have again changed the place where he is to do his service. He promises to send his new address from Achinsk.

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* Y. O. Martov.—*Ed.*

** Two of them—to his mother and his sister Maria—have been preserved.—*Ed.*

Nadya is most probably in bed; the doctor finds (as she wrote in a letter a week ago) that her illness (gynaecological) needs persistent treatment and she must remain in bed for anything from two to *six weeks*. (I have sent her some more money—I received 100 rubles from Vodovozova—because her treatment will entail considerable expense. So far I have enough money, but if I run short I shall write to you.) So she would not be able to come to me now, even if she had permission (I still have no reply and have almost given up expecting one). I am thinking of going to visit her in the spring, in about six weeks—or perhaps earlier.

An acquaintance of mine here* has applied for a passport and is thinking of going abroad for a cure after April 20; I shall be rather lonely here without him.

I am taking lessons in German from a local German at 50 kopeks a lesson. We translate from Russian and talk a little—there is not much progress and I am wondering whether I should not give it up; for the time being, however, I shall continue. I am not working very much and have still not finished the Index to Webb.

I go to the library and read the newspapers. I see very few new books, I have not seen Davydov's.** I do not intend to answer P. Struve (I sent a short note against him to be inserted into my reply to Skvortsov);[194] I have seen Kachorovsky and am thinking of answering him. Has Manyasha seen *Nauchnoye Obozreniye* Nos. 3 and 4? There is an excellent article on Pisarev there.[195]

And so Mitya has given up his job and gone back to his studies? Excellent. Is Manyasha working very hard? Where and how are Anyuta and Mark?

Best wishes for Easter to you, dear, and many kisses. Thank Manyasha for her letter. Regards to Mitya.

Yours,
V. U.

Sent from Pskov

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* A. N. Potresov.—*Ed.*

** Will Manyasha send it, if she has it?

104

TO HIS MOTHER

Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova,
Kedrova's House,
Podolsk,
Moscow Gubernia

April 26, 1900

Today, Mother dearest, I am sending you the pamphlet by Mech with the reprint from *Nauchnoye Obozreniye** which I promised. Forgive me for keeping it so long. How are you? What arrangements has Anyuta made, where is she now and what has she decided to do for the summer?

Many kisses for you and regards to all.

Yours,
V. U.

Sent from Pskov

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* It is not known what pamphlet and reprint Lenin referred to.—*Ed.*

105

TO HIS MOTHER

Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova,
Kedrova's House,
Podolsk,
Moscow Gubernia

April 30, 1900

I have received your letter and Manya's of the 25th, Mother dearest. I shall probably get away from here earlier, in something like a fortnight from now, but I cannot say anything at all definite.

I think I wrote telling you I had asked permission to spend six weeks in Ufa.[196] I hope to receive an answer soon.

Nadya writes that her health is improving. She has not received *Archiv* from Anyuta. Here is something I should like to ask Anyuta to do—can she *get back that* "*Archiv*" *before I arrive* and not send it to Nadya, because I now need it (I could take it to Nadya myself) and the second copy that I expected never reached me. I should very much like to have it when I visit you.

Ask Manyasha to send me Nadya's translation.* I will send it to the journal.

Filippov writes that even from the article against Skvortsov the censor has thrown out almost a third! That is really too bad!

Many kisses for you and regards to all.

Yours,
V. U.

Sent from Pskov

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* It is not known which translation this refers to.—*Ed.*

106

TO HIS MOTHER

May 5, 1900

Your letter of the 2nd with Manyasha's postscript, I received only today, Mother dearest. I do not know why the letter was delayed (you expected me to receive it on the 3rd or not later than the 4th); it is postmarked "Mail train 2nd" and "Pskov 4th", so there does not seem to have been any real delay; the letter arrived in Pskov on the 4th and was delivered this morning. A letter is not likely to reach me as quickly from Podolsk as from Moscow.

There is no need for you to worry about me, Mother dearest. My health is much better, I gave up taking the mineral water a long time ago and have never felt any desire or need to return to it. Yesterday I received a certificate from the local Chief of Police to the effect that he has no objection to my making a journey abroad; today I paid the stamp duty (ten rubles) and in two hours' time I shall receive my passport. And so I shall be moving to warmer parts in summer; I cannot leave here immediately because there are some matters I must settle with editors and with certain publishers of translations and also wind up some financial affairs (I hope, by the way, to get a few coppers from Filippov; if I get none, either from him or Popova, I will write and ask you to send me something). I must, moreover, wait here for an answer to my request to the Department for permission to live in Ufa for six weeks on account of my wife's illness. I submitted the request on April 20 and there should be an answer in about a week. I shall definitely visit Nadya, but I still do not know whether I shall be able to live with her for six weeks or whether (which is the more probable) I shall have to make do with a shorter period. In any case the receipt of the passport (I have to receive

it here in Pskov, my last place of residence) does not restrict me because the law says that I may go abroad any time within three months on a passport issued in the interior gubernias, so that I shall not be late oven if I leave Russia on August 5. I am therefore leaving here between the 15th and the 20th, as I wrote you before; I shall try to leave earlier, of course. Please write and tell me what to do with my things; shall I leave them in Moscow (is Mark there and what is his address? will he be in Moscow long? does he visit you often?) or bring them straight to Podolsk (I don't know if that will be convenient; I suppose I shall have to take everything with me, including books), and I should like Manyasha to write me in detail how to find you in Podolsk.

I embrace you and send regards to all.

Yours,
V. U.

I shall be seeing you soon!

Nadya writes that her health is improving.

I have just received, my passport from the Chancellery of the Governor and have enquired about my request to go to Ufa; now it turns out that I have been refused! That is something I certainly did not expect and am now quite at a loss what to do!

Sent from Pskov to Podolsk

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107

TO HIS MOTHER

Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova,
Kedrova's House,
Podolsk,
Moscow Gubernia

May 10, 1900

I have just received your letter of the 8th, Mother dearest, and am replying at once. I am very glad permission has been granted for me to visit you and it goes without saying that I shall certainly take advantage of it; unfortunately I cannot leave here at once; I do not want to come back here, so I must stay on for 5-7 days or so to settle some financial affairs and certain editorial business. It doesn't matter, of course, whether I come a week earlier or later; I am, in general, in agreement with the arguments put forward by you and Anyuta (by the way—*merci* for the work on urban statistics which I received today) and think of doing as you advise, the only thing is I must give up the idea of a personal visit to St. Petersburg and shall, therefore, ask you to go, if you can manage it, by Thursday the 18th, or, if you can't, by Thursday the 25th, depending on when we meet.[197]

See you soon.

Yours,
V. U.

Sent from Pskov

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108

TO HIS MOTHER

May 18, 1900

Just a few lines, Mother dearest, to let you know that my departure has unfortunately been delayed for a time, but not for long; I hope to see you on Sunday or on Tuesday evening, the 21st or the 23rd.[198] Many kisses and please do not worry about my health; I now feel quite well and walk a lot as we are having such glorious weather. After two or three days of rain everything is green, there is no dust yet, the air is wonderful, so you can't help wanting to be *ins Grüne*.*

Yours,
V. U.

See you soon.

Sent from Pskov to Podolsk

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* In the country (Ger.).—*Ed.*

109

TO HIS MOTHER

Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova,
Kedrova's House,
Podolsk,
Moscow Gubernia

July 2, 1900

Mother dearest,

Unfortunately I have to tell you that our meeting has to be postponed for a time. I must pay a short visit to a comrade in Siberia,[199] so I shall not be passing through Podolsk before the 20th or 21st (most likely the 20th, I think). Then all I shall have to do is get my things together, get visas in my passport and continue on my way. If the things have not yet arrived, I would ask Mitya to take the most energetic measures, up to and including a personal trip. Our people are all well and send their regards.

I embrace you fondly, Mother dearest, and send regards to all.

Yours,
V. U.

Sent from Ufa

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110

TO HIS MOTHER

Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova,
Kedrova's House,
Podolsk,
Moscow Gubernia,
Russia

August 31, 1900

I am surprised, Mother dearest, that I have not received a single letter from you; I wrote to you twice from Paris[200] and am now writing while travelling (I have been on a trip down the Rhine).[201] I am well and am having a good time; I saw Anyuta a few days ago,* took a trip on a very beautiful lake with her and enjoyed the wonderful views and the good weather—there has not been much good weather here either, mostly rain and thunderstorms. It's as bad a summer here for tourists as it is in Russia.

Many kisses for you and regards to all. I ask Manyasha to send me as soon as possible all the books there are for me; as regards the boxes—I hope to write soon.

Yours,
V. U.

You may write to me at the same address (or to Anyuta to forward to me, although that is slower than if letters are sent to Paris).

Sent from Nuremberg

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* Lenin's elder sister Anna was also abroad at the time.—*Ed.*

111

TO HIS MOTHER

Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova,
Kedrova's House,
Podolsk,
Moscow Gubernia,
Russia

Paris,[202] September 7, 1900

I received Manya's letter and postcard, Mother dearest, and was glad to have news from home. I returned from my Rhine trip several days ago, I am not thinking of staying here for long, and shall probably be moving on soon. I don't know where yet, but will write when it is certain.

Manyasha grumbles at the shortness of my letters; I admit my guilt, but by way of justification must say that here you are in a whirl all the time and there is such a wealth of impressions that it is difficult to choose what to dwell upon and describe in greater detail. I hope that when I leave here, when I am farther away from the turmoil of the exhibition with its peculiar exhibition atmosphere, I shall be able to concentrate better and write more clearly. Until then, please excuse me for the emptiness of my letters.

Many kisses for you, my dear, and regards to all.

Yours,
V. U.

Manyasha says nothing about your health; I hope that means you are well.

How are Mitya's affairs going? When is Mark moving, and when will you all be in Moscow? What do you know about Manyasha's case?[203]

Sent from Munich

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112

TO HIS MOTHER

September 19 (N.S.), 1900

Yesterday (no, not yesterday—the 16th) I received your letter of August 23, Mother dearest, and was very glad to get it. I have also received Manyasha's first letter and her postcard of August 24 saying that another letter with a reminder had come from the carrier's.[204] I have *already sent* Manyasha an address which she should pass on to them. I hope she has received it.

It is a great pity that Mitya has been refused admission to the University. It is a hell of a business, having to lose another year! Perhaps it can still be managed with the help of one of those guarantors you mention. Manyasha's position also seems to be indefinite, doesn't it?

I got a letter from Anyuta yesterday and hope to see her soon—we do a great deal of walking together. I intend taking the waters again soon and being more regular with the cure. The weather here is good now; the rainy days are over and it looks as if we shall be able to do some good walking. I have plenty of shirts and underclothes and money, Mother dearest, so there is no need to send anything for the time being; I hope I shall not have to write about this in the near future, and I shall try to reckon up in advance when the necessity arises.

I also got a letter from Nadya yesterday; she says they are fixed up quite well, she has heaps of lessons that keep her busy seven hours a day!

I embrace you fondly, Mother dearest, and send my regards to all. I hope you will soon be able to make final arrangements for the winter and will have better accommodation.

Yours,
V. U.

There's one thing I almost forgot to add—on September 17 (that will be the 4th by our calendar) I received Braun's *Archiv* that I had left behind. It was done very quickly! A big *merci* to Manyasha.

Sent from Munich to Podolsk

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113

TO HIS MOTHER

Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova,
Sharonov's House,
Bakhmetyevskaya Street, 25,
Moscow,
Russia

October 3, 1900

I have received, Mother dearest, Manyasha's letter of September 8 which was delayed when forwarded to me from Paris. I was very glad to learn that Mitya's affairs are being settled, and that he will probably be allowed to enter Yuriev University.[205] It would be fine if he could get everything settled soon! What is happening to Manyasha's case? She doesn't write about it. How are you? Are you comfortable? I am now quite well, I got over my influenza long ago and am working more regularly. We are having excellent weather here—and you? I have also received the books from Manyasha (*Bulletin officiel*), thanks for them. I am expecting the box and money to arrive soon.

I embrace you fondly, my dear, and send regards to all.

Yours,
V. U.

Sent from Munich

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114

TO HIS SISTER MARIA

Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova,*
Sharonov's House,
Bakhmetyevskaya Street, 25,
Moscow,
Russia

November 6, 1900

Manyasha,

I have received your letter, Manyasha, many thanks for it.

I received the books a few days ago and was horrified when I opened the big box. It contained the medical books of an Anna Fedulova (from Barnaul in Siberia) who had studied in Lausanne and Geneva from 1893 to 1899. How absurd and disgraceful! I know nothing about this person and hear her name for the first time. How could her books have got here? How could they have been sent to Moscow to the wrong address? Why did nobody enquire about them during the months they were lying in Moscow?

Try to find out, if you can, what it is all about. For all the books I paid about 40 (forty!) rubles. So for someone else's books I must have overpaid about thirty rubles on account of the neglect of some utterly irresponsible persons.

I shall write to Siberia and to Switzerland, asking them to try and find the lady. In the meantime I have put the books into a warehouse. I must get in touch with the

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* The first part of the letter, written to Lenin's mother, has been lost.—*Ed.*

carrier's office that sent the box. Let me have their exact address. Perhaps the owner of the books will soon be asking for them. Did they issue a receipt for the books? If so, how could they have surrendered them (here) without it? Try and go to them to get an explanation, or—*better*—write to then, register the letter and send a stamp for a reply.

(1 think the owner of the books should refund my expenses since she is at fault for sending the books to a strange address without any notification.)

I have received a letter from Lirochka, who sends you and Mother thousands of the warmest greetings. I do not suppose I shall have an opportunity to see her.

I have, received my books in good order—*merci* for them.

I am repeating my address—just in case.

Herrn Franz Modráček, Smècky, 27. Prag. Oesterreich (Austria).[206]

The weather here has been bad, but today is wonderful, warm and sunny. We shall see what winter is like here.

I am still living as usual, I study languages a little, exchange German and Russian lessons with a Czech (conversations rather than lessons) and visit the library.

Please give Mother many kisses from me. Is she now quite well? How is Mark? Do not forget to obtain for me the address of the China traveller.*

All the best,
Yours,
V. U.

November 7

Excuse me for having delayed sending the letter. Yesterday I received your books (*merci* for them—the selection is excellent) and your letter of October 10. Why did it take so long?

Sent from Munich

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* A. P. Sklyarenko.—*Ed.*

115

TO HIS SISTER MARIA

Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova,
Sharonov's House,
Bakhmetyevskaya Street,
Moscow,
Russia

November 29, 1900

Today, Manyasha, I received your letter of November 6 and the letter that was enclosed in it. Thanks.

I did not receive your previous letter, so I don't know how to send the medical books. To whom? To the owner of the books? Can you not get the money they cost from her in advance?

I am quite well and life goes on as usual. Please give Mother many kisses for me and my very best regards to Mark.

Do you get my letters in good time? Check the postmarks, please, and let me know.

Yours,
V. Ul.

Sent from Munich

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116

TO HIS MOTHER

Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova,
Sharonov's House,
Bakhmetyevskaya Street,
Moscow,
Russia

December 6, 1900

Mother dearest,

A few days ago I received the letters forwarded to me by Manyasha. *Merci* for them. I do not know whether I shall soon get round to sending a reply to Siberia—I have also had a letter lying here unanswered for a long time.

Yesterday I had a letter from Anyuta. She writes that she does not yet know how long she will be in Paris. You have probably received letters from her, too.

Are you expecting Mitya home for the holidays? How is be getting on with his medicine and German?

What sort of weather are you having? You probably have a fine winter. Here we have slush and autumn rain—if the whole "winter" is going to be like this it will be worse than frost and snow. It is true that there are occasionally some very fine days, when it is dry and clear—but only by way of exception.

Where does Mark intend spending his vacation? In Moscow, or will he go away somewhere?

How is Manyasha getting on? Isn't she working too much? Is she quite well again now? Perhaps it would do her good to run around more, that is, to walk from one part

of the town to another. Anyuta writes that Manyasha may come here with Nadya.

Life goes on here as usual. I am wandering aimlessly in a strange land and still only "hoping" to put an end to the fuss and bother and settle down to work.

Nadya writes often. She is well, but Y. V. always seems to be out of sorts.

I embrace you fondly, my dear, and hope you keep well. Regards to all.

Yours,
V. U.

Does Manyasha go skating? There is some sort of a *künstliche* (!) *Eisbahn** here; I keep intending to take a look at this fake. Even their ice is artificial—poor Prague people!**

Sent from Munich

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* Artificial skating rink (Ger.).—*Ed.*

** Prague was mentioned for purposes of secrecy. Lenin was living in Munich at the time.—*Ed.*

117

TO HIS SISTER MARIA

Maria Ilyinichna Ulyanova,
Sharonov's House,
Bakhmetyevskaya Street
Moscow,
Russia

December 14, 1900

I have received your letter, Manyasha, in which you repeat the address for the books. Tomorrow I am having the box mended—it has suffered from long journeys and I cannot risk sending it like that-and will then forward it through some carrier's office. I will send the receipt by registered letter direct to Fedulova and will write to you when it has been sent.*

I have had a letter from S. I.[207] and, I think, have informed you of it.

Yesterday I got a letter from Anya. She seems to be thinking of remaining here (abroad, that is) a little longer, but does not know how things are at home and whether you are expecting her very eagerly for Christmas.

Mitya did well to claim the money from the railway. Of course it could not be ignored.

All the best and please give Mother many kisses for me.

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*I don't think it will cost anything—I will send it carriage forward, which must be possible because we received it like that in Moscow.

Regards to Mark and Mitya. Excuse me for the brevity of this letter—it is late already. I will add something tomorrow if I have time. If not, I shall send it as it is.

Yours,
V. U.

I have just learned that the box has been mended. I shall, therefore, send it off today (or tomorrow at the latest) and inform you of its despatch only in the unlikely event of there being some delay. I will send the receipt by registered post to the same address. I remember that I sent you the things that interested you on the ninth. Have you received them?

Very best regards to all, to Mother *in particular*.

Yours,
V. U.

Sent from Munich

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118

TO HIS MOTHER

Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova,
Sharonov's House,
Bakhmetyevskaya Street,
Moscow,
Russia

December 26, 1900

Mother dearest,

You will probably receive this letter shortly before the holidays. All best wishes and may you have a good time; perhaps Mitya will come and you will all get together—at least everyone who is in Russia. Anya and I also thought of getting together, but we could not manage it. Here it is already *Weihnachten*—Christbäume*** everywhere and the streets have been unusually lively over the last few days. I went to Vienna a few days ago and enjoyed the journey after several weeks of immobility.[208] But a winter without snow is unpleasant. Actually there is no winter at all, it is like a rotten autumn; everything wet and dripping. It is a good thing it is not cold and I can manage quite well without a winter overcoat, but somehow it's not very nice without snow. I am fed up with the slush and recall with pleasure the real Russian winter, the sleigh rides and the clean frosty air. I am spending my first winter abroad, the first winter that is nothing at all like a winter, and I cannot say that I have been very pleased, although at times there

* Christmas (Ger.).—*Ed.*
** Christmas trees (Ger.).—*Ed.*

are fine days like those we have at home in late autumn, when the weather is good.

There has been no change in my way of life; it is rather lonely and, unfortunately, rather purposeless. I keep hoping to arrange my studies more systematically but I don't seem to manage it. In spring things will certainly go better and I shall get "on to the rails". Since my Shushenskoye immobility I have done a lot of wandering through Russia and abroad and am now longing for some peaceful writing again; it is only the unaccustomed foreign atmosphere that prevents me really getting down to it.

Are you keeping well, Mother dearest? Are you not lonely without Anyuta? How is Manya's case coming along? By the way, I forgot to tell her that I have received Pushkin and am very grateful, and that I also got her letter of December 6. I have not answered because of my journey, and since then I have been very busy.

I embrace you fondly, my dear, and send best regards to all.

Yours,
V. U.

Sent from Munich

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1901

119

TO HIS MOTHER

Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova,
Sharonov's House,
Bakhmetyevskaya Street,
Moscow,
Russia

January 1, 1901

Mother dearest,

I wish you a Happy New Year and everything of the best, especially the best of health! To all of you—I hope Mitya is also with you—I send greetings and good wishes. A big *merci* to Manyasha for sending the maps in the folder I recently received. Her friend* informed me she has received the receipt for the books.

In the new year Manyasha will surely be allowed to travel again!

*Nochmals beste Glück-Wünsche.***

Yours,
V. U.

Sent from Munich

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* It is not known who is meant.—*Ed.*
** Again, all good wishes (Ger.).—*Ed.*

120

TO HIS MOTHER

Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova,
Sharonov's House,
Bakhmetyevskaya Street,
Moscow,
Russia

January 16, 1901

Mother dearest,

I have received your letter of December 26th with Manyasha's postscript and was very glad to hear that Mitya was with you and that you had a good time at Christmas. It is a pity it is so terribly cold; when I tell the Germans (or the Czechs) about a temperature of 28° below zero Réaumur they simply gasp and wonder how the Russians manage to stay alive. Here 8° or 10° below zero R is considered cold, *furchtbare Kälte** and almost everybody manages with only an autumn coat (admittedly most of them wear woollen jerseys as well). The houses here are not at all adapted to severe cold, the walls are thin, the windows are not caulked up tight and very often there are not even *Winterfenster*.** You have no need to worry about me; I eat well at a boarding-house where I have been staying since autumn. I feel quite well, probably because I run around a lot more than I sit still. Nadya's arrival is not far away now—her term will be up in two and a half months,*** and then I shall make all the proper arrangements.

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* Terrible cold (Ger.).—*Ed.*
** Storm windows (Ger.).—*Ed.*
*** Krupskaya's term of exile ended on March 11, 1901.—*Ed.*

I send hearty greetings to Mitya and Mark, and many thanks to Manyasha for the books she sent, and especially for the unusually beautiful and interesting photographs from our cousin in Vienna; I should like to receive such gifts more often.[209]

Many kisses, my dear, and I hope you will keep well.

Yours,
V. Ul.

Sent from Munich

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121

TO HIS MOTHER

Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova,
Sharonov's House,
Bakhmetyevskaya Street,
Moscow,
Russia

January 27, 1901

Mother dearest,

A few days ago I received a letter and a postcard from Manyasha and also a photo of Mitya, and Protopopov's book. Thanks for everything. I was very glad to get Mitya's photo—I think it is a good one. I have already begun to long for photographs and will certainly ask Nadya to bring my album, and if you have any new photographs, please send them.

I don't need any warm clothing now. Winter here seems to be over—I mean real winter with snow and temperatures below zero. It was warm and rainy right up to the end of December. Then it snowed and the temperature began to drop to 10°-15° below zero R (mornings) and the Germans complained of the "terrible" cold. In their houses it really is terribly cold, even when there are only three degrees of frost outside; the houses are badly built. A thaw set in about a week ago, all the snow disappeared in one night, and the weather is now like March in Russia or April in Siberia. It is possible—even probable—that there will be some more snow, but only for a very short time. The coldest period is over; last month I had to spend five rubles

on *Holz und Kohle** instead of one or two rubles, as in previous months.

I am quite well and there are no changes. I correspond with Anyuta and hope to see her soon.

Many kisses for you, my dear, and best regards to all.

Yours,
V. U.

P.S. Less than two months remain to the end of Nadya's term of exile; she will be coming soon and will, of course, be seeing you. And in summer I hope that we shall be together.

Sent from Munich

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* Wood and coal (Ger.).—*Ed.*

122

TO HIS MOTHER

Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova,
Sharonov's House,
Bakhmetyevskaya Street,
Moscow,
Russia

February 9, 1901

Mother dearest,

How are you? What news is there, what does Mitya write from Yuriev—he is probably working hard now the examinations are drawing near.

I recently received some old manuscripts from Manyasha and the Vienna gifts.[210] A big *merci* for them.

The weather here is again turning wintry, i.e., there has been some snow. It is not cold, however, and the snow melts during the day.

I was at the opera a few days ago and heard *La Juive* with the greatest pleasure; I heard it once in Kazan (when Zakrzhevsky sang)—that must be thirteen years ago, and some of the tunes have remained in my memory. The music and singing were good. I have also been to theatres (German) on a few occasions and sometimes understood something, the general idea, at any rate. Do you go to the Moscow theatres?

Anyuta wrote recently that her work will detain her for a while yet.

Are you thinking of applying for permission for Nadya to visit you, my dear, just for a few days? She would probably like that very much, but the metropolitan cities are

usually forbidden—after Ufa,[211] she writes, they are the only prohibited places.

I should like Manyasha to drop me a line saying when she subscribes to magazines for me, so that I know when to ask for them at the post office.

I embrace you fondly, my dear, and send regards to all.

Yours,
V. U.

Sent from Munich

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123

TO HIS MOTHER

February 20, 1901

Mother dearest,

It is quite a time since I had a letter from you. The only news I have had was from Manyasha, sent on the 6th, and for that many thanks. How are you? Not freezing too badly? Are you keeping well?

It is cold here again, and there has been so much snow—more than for the last 13 years—so people say. There have been cases of trains being held up by snowdrifts. But it seems to be winter's last effort. I am used to it by now and have adapted myself to the local winter—nevertheless if I have to spend the next winter in these parts I shall write for a quilted coat. Without it you either have to wear a woollen jersey or put on two sets of underclothes (as I do). At first it was not very comfortable but I got used to it long ago. And in any case the cold here is not like the Russian cold. If it's 10° below zero that's a "terrible frost".

The carnival ended here a few days ago. This is the first time I have seen the last day of a carnival in a foreign country—processions of people in fancy dress, general buffoonery, showers of confetti (tiny scraps of coloured paper) thrown in your face, paper streamers and so on. People here do know how to make merry publicly, in the streets!

I am quite well, probably because I run about rather a lot, and do not sit still for long. In general life is much the same.

Nadya's term of exile will soon be over (March 24 by the calendar here, March 11 by yours). In a day or two I shall send an application for a passport for her. I should like Manyasha to send a box of "my" pen-nibs with her. Believe it or not, I have not been able to find them here. Foolish people, these Czechs and Germans—no English nibs, only "our own" make, which is awful rubbish.

What does Mitya write? When will the exams be over?

What does Mark intend to do this summer?

I embrace you fondly, my dear, and wish you good health. Regards to all.

Yours,
V. U.

Do you go to the theatre? What is this new play of Chekhov's, *Three Sisters*? Have you seen it and do you like it? I read a review in the papers. They act well at the Moscow Art Theatre—I still remember with pleasure my visit to that theatre last year with poor old Columbus. Is he well? I keep intending to write to him but am always too busy.

Sent from Munich to Moscow

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DMITRY ULYANOV
1903

124

TO HIS MOTHER

Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova,
Sharonov's House,
Bakhmetyevskaya Street,
Moscow,
Russia

February 27, 1901

I have received Manyasha's letter of February 2, 1901, Mother dearest, and also the journal *Promyshlenny Mir*,[212] for which *merci*.

It does not seem worth while now sending the articles that have been returned from *Nauchnoye Obozreniye*,[213] better simply send them with Nadya.

How does one write to A. V. in Nikolsk? I wrote to him once in Harbin but have no idea whether my letter reached him or not. Please let me have his exact address (and, if you happen to write to him, give him mine), I should from time to time like to know something about him, at least.

Anya, it appears, has delayed her departure somewhat. She has probably written to you herself.

Excuse the brief letter. I have no time at the moment. In a few days I shall write more.

Best regards to all.

Many kisses for you,

Yours,

V. U.

Sent from Munich

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125

TO HIS MOTHER

March 2, 1901

Mother dearest,

This is to tell you of a change in my address. I have moved together with my landlord:

Herrn Franz Modráček, *Vršovice bei Prag*, No. 384. Oesterreich.*

I am going to Vienna now.[214] It seems that there is no Russian consul here (!) and I must have my signature witnessed on my application for Nadya's passport. I hope to be able to write something to you from Vienna.

I am sorry I have not studied Czech. It is interesting that it is very much like Polish and contains many old Russian words. I recently went away for a time and when I returned to Prague its Slav character struck me very forcibly—names ending in *-čik*, *-ček*, etc., words like *lze*, *lekarna*, and so on and so forth. The weather is now warm and spring-like and I shall probably have a nice trip to Vienna.

Are you all well at home? How are Mitya's affairs? I embrace you fondly, my dear, and send regards to all.

Yours,
V. U.

Sent from Prague to Moscow

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* F. Modráček through whom Lenin maintained a correspondence with Russia, moved to a new address.—*Ed.*

126

TO HIS MOTHER

Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova,
Sharonov's House,
Bakhmetyevskaya Street,
Moscow,
Russia

Vienna, March 4, 1901

I have come here, Mother dearest, on a hunt for "papers" for Nadya. There was no Russian consul in Prague and my application for a passport for Nadya had to be witnessed. Vienna is a huge, lively and beautiful city. After the "province" where I live it is pleasant to see the metropolis. There is something to look at here, so it is worth while stopping off (should any of you be travelling this way). For this purpose I have sent Nadya a pocket *Führer durch Wien*. I hope she will soon be seeing you—there should be no hitch with the passport now. I ask Manyasha, when she happens to be in the centre of the town, to buy *Hendschel's Telegraph* (two marks) for Nadya (it is not worth the trouble of sending one from here).

Among other things, I have seen the Museum der bildenden Künste* here, and even saw a Viennese operetta. I did not like it very much, I was also at a meeting where a *Volksuniversitätskurse*** was in progress. I got in at the wrong time and went away quickly.

Regards to everyone; many kisses for you, my dear.

Yours,
V. U.

---

* Museum of Fine Arts (Ger.).—*Ed.*
** People's University Course (Ger.).—*Ed.*

It is probable that a letter from Anyuta, or perhaps yours or Manyasha's, is waiting for me at home.

Just in case of accidents I am repeating my new address: Herrn Franz Modráček. Vršvice bei Prag. Oesterreich.

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127

TO HIS MOTHER

May 19, 1901

Mother dearest,

I have just received your letter with Mark's letter enclosed and immediately have sent them both on to Anyuta, who has left for Berlin. She wants to do some work in the libraries there. I hope she will find it much more convenient in Berlin than here—the Prague* libraries are not up to much.

I am very sorry you have been unable to get a decent apartment, and that your summer place is not good either. The summer does not look promising for those who spend it in the country if one may judge by the beginning and by the weather here—cloudy and rainy. It is all right for us, of course, because we stay in town all summer, but it will be rotten for you. Perhaps Mitya will be able to find you something better. I also hope very much that Mark and Manyasha will soon manage to be with you.[215] Judging by Mark's letter, he has to some extent adapted himself to the new conditions and found himself an occupation, so as not to be bored and not to impair his health too greatly. I am writing to him and Manyasha and ask you to send them the letters.

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* Prague is mentioned for secrecy; the reference is actually to Munich.—*Ed*.

Many kisses for you, my dear; from the bottom of my heart I wish you good health and vigour and, especially, that you will soon be together with Manyasha and Mark.

Yours,
V. U.

Regards to Mitya. He must be very busy? I Suppose.

Sent from Munich to Podolsk

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128

TO HIS SISTER MARIA[216]

May 19, 1901

I have decided to write you a few lines, dear Manyasha, or you will be thinking I have turned into a real pig. I have been forgetting my obligations surprisingly often since I have been here. It is true that now Nadya and Y. V. have arrived we are much more comfortable; we have our own apartment and I am beginning to work more regularly, but there is still more than enough bother.

How are you? I hope you have got yourself into a more correct regime for that is so important in solitary confinement. I have just written a letter to Mark in which I described in exceptional detail how best to establish a "regime"; as regards mental work, I particularly recommended translations, especially *both ways*—first do a written translation from the foreign language into Russian, then translate it back from Russian into the foreign language. My own experience has taught me that this is the most rational way of learning a language. On the physical side I have strongly recommended him, and I repeat it to you, to do gymnastics every day and rub himself down with a wet towel. In solitary confinement this is absolutely essential.

I saw from one of your letters that Mother sent on to me that you have found some ways of employing your time. I hope this will enable you to forget, even if only occasionally, your surroundings, and that the passage of time (which usually passes quickly in prison unless conditions are particularly bad) will be even less noticeable. I also advise you to arrange your work on the books you have in such a way as to vary it; I remember quite well that a change

of reading or work—from translation to reading, from writing to gymnastics, from serious reading to fiction—helps a great deal. Sometimes a change of mood for the worse—one's mood changes so easily in prison—is due simply to fatigue from monotonous impressions or monotonous work, and a change of occupation is often enough to bring one back to normal and calm one's nerves. I remember that after dinner, for recreation in the evening, I read fiction *regelmässig*,* and never enjoyed it anywhere as much as I did in prison. The main thing is never to forget the obligatory daily gymnastics. Force yourself to go through several dozen (no allowances!) movements of all kinds! This is very important. Well, good-bye for now. Many kisses; I wish you good health and vigour.

Yours,
Vlad. Ulyanov

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* Regularly (Ger.).—*Ed.*

129

TO HIS MOTHER

June 7, 1901

Mother dearest,

I have received your letter of May 10 and newspapers from Mitya. Many thanks for the letter and the papers. I would ask Mitya in future to send any interesting issues of Russian newspapers that he can get hold of; there is no library here and I seldom see anything but *Russkiye Vedomosti*....

Anyuta is now in Berlin and has already written to me that she has received the royalties that were sent her, and that in general she receives your letters more quickly than before.

I am very glad that you like your summer place and can spend a lot of time in the open air. From what Anyuta said I had imagined your new place to be much too flimsy and cold. What is it like there when it rains?

It is sad there is no change in the affairs of Mark and Manyasha. Just before Anyuta left I wrote letters to them containing a lot of stuff about how to spend one's time in prison. I don't know whether the letters got there and actually reached them.

We have fixed our apartment up very nicely here. Rents are cheaper here than in such (relatively) big towns in Russia; we furnished the place with second-hand things we bought cheap, and Yelizaveta Vasilyevna and Nadya manage the housekeeping themselves without any particular trouble—housekeeping here is much easier. The place is a good one, too—on the outskirts; there is water near us

and a park with lots of greenery. There are good connections with the centre, thanks to the electric trams.

A few days ago I received 250 rubles from my publisher and the financial side of things is now not bad. In general, I am fixed up here comfortably in all respects and have only one wish—for our two to be released as soon as possible, so that you will not have to remain almost alone.

Y. V. and Nadya are well and send their best regards to you and all our people. Nadya intends to write soon.

Many kisses for you, my dear, and I wish you very good health.

Yours,
V. Ul.

Sent from Munich to Podolsk

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130

TO HIS MOTHER

July 1, 1901

Mother dearest,

It is quite a long time since I had news of you. Are you well? I recently received from Anya a letter of Mark's with a postscript to me that you had sent her. I was very glad to hear from him (there has been no reply to my letter from Manyasha), but I was sorry to learn of the rather wretched arrangements in their cells. Their imprisonment has come at a bad time—summer. By the way, the summer here is not hot and there is a lot of rain. What is your summer like?

I have received the 75 rubles that Mitya sent, which probably came from the sale of my gun. *Merci* for the money. Did he receive Nadya's letter in which she asked him to send me three copies of my book on capitalism?

Have you any acquaintances in Podolsk? Do you see the gentleman we went boating with last year?[217] You probably go to Moscow once a week, or perhaps more than once, don't you? Have any of the Siberian friends called on you when passing through?[218]

I embrace you, Mother dearest, and wish you good health. Very best regards from all to Mitya, Mark and Manyasha.

Yours,
V. U.

Sent from Munich to Podolsk

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131

TO HIS MOTHER

July 17, 1901

Mother dearest,

A few days ago I received a letter from you which had been forwarded to me by Anyuta. I was exceedingly glad to learn that there is a hope of our people being released shortly. Perhaps the authorities will realise that there is no "case" to be made of it. Even if they do make out a "case", they should let them out soon, because now, in incomparably more important cases, people are released on remand "until the investigation has been completed". It is a good thing that Manyasha feels well and vigorous, as I see from the letter Anyuta sent on to me.

Anyuta wrote me a few days ago that she is thinking of going to stay in the country; it would not be a bad thing, although I must say that towns abroad are better adapted to the summer—the streets are watered more often, etc.—and it is easier to spend the summer here in town than it is in Russia. We, for instance, are able to swim every day in a very good swimming pool at a relatively low cost, there are places for walks and one does not have to go far to get out of town. The traffic in the streets here is far less than in an equally large Russian city; this is because the electric trams and bicycles are completely ousting cabs. The commercial traffic in the suburb where we live is exceedingly small. For this reason we are quite content with our present place of residence and do not intend to go to a village or summer resort.

I embrace you fondly, my dear, and hope you keep well. Best regards to Mitya and especially to Mark and Manyasha.

Yours,
V. U.

Sent from Munich to Podolsk

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132

TO HIS MOTHER

August 3, 1901

Mother dearest,

I have received your letter of June 13. A big merci for it. It is very strange that they won't allow even Mitya a visit. There is one consolation—the case is coming to an end and soon our people will be released and sent into exile. Perhaps it can be arranged not too far from Moscow—I am talking about Manyasha, since Mark, as you say, has decided to go to his brother.[219] Since Mark's case will probably end without a conviction there perhaps remains a hope of his being able to complete the course[220]—if not in the normal period, at least with the loss of only a year; he may be able to get special permission, since he has graduated in mathematics.

When is Mitya going away, and for how long? When will he be through with his examinations? What does he think of doing? Is he still as keen to become a public health officer?

Life here goes on as usual. I had thought of taking a short trip with Nadya but the weather is too changeable. We are again having rainy days now. This summer has been just the kind to spend in town, rather than in the country.

I am expecting a letter soon from Anyuta with her new address.

I embrace you fondly, my dear, and hope you keep well. Best regards to Mitya, Mark and Manyasha.

Yours,
V. Ul.

Sent from Munich to Podolsk

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133

TO HIS MOTHER

September 1, 1901

Mother dearest,

We recently received your letter to Nadya with a letter from Manyasha enclosed. It was very sad to learn that our people's affairs are in such a sorry state! I just don't know what to advise, my dear. Please don't worry too much—the prosecutor's office, is probably making so much trouble by way of a last attempt to work up a "case" out of nothing, and when these attempts fail they will have to grant a release. It might help to go to St. Petersburg, if your health permits, and complain of something so unheard of as no interrogation for six months. That constitutes such a definite and obvious illegal act that it is the best thing to submit a complaint about it. In any ease, Petersburg would send an inquiry to Moscow and cause the latter to abandon a little of its provincial high-handedness (that was what happened when Mitya was arrested). That is the argument in favour of a trip to St. Petersburg. There is, of course, also an argument against it—the outcome is doubtful and it will cause you a great deal of anxiety. You are in the best position to decide whether it is worth while undertaking anything of the sort, and you have probably discussed it with acquaintances. You should also complain of the refusal to allow Mitya to see Manyasha,[221] because that is something very much out of the ordinary.

As far as concerns Anyuta, I shall not, of course, write to her about what you have told me, so as not to upset her too much. I hope I shall soon—perhaps in a few weeks—be seeing her and will try to reassure her a little.

When you have some spare time, my dear, please write and tell me how you are keeping, whether you are quite well and what you are thinking of doing in the autumn. Are you moving to Moscow or will you remain in Podolsk for the time being? When is M. V. leaving?[222] When you see Manyasha and Mark again, give them best regards from all of its. Now summer has passed—summer is the worst time to be in prison—and after the interrogation they will probably realise a little more clearly how trivial the whole affair is.

I embrace you again and again, my dear, and wish you good health and vigour. You remember, when I was locked up, you imagined the case to be more serious and dangerous than it was, and, of course, Manyasha's and Mark's case bears no comparison with mine! They are probably being held a long time, partly because so many people have been arrested and the case has not yet been properly sorted out—anything so absurd would, of course, be impossible in St. Petersburg.

I again kiss you,

Yours,

V. Ul.

Life here goes on as usual; Yelizaveta Vasilyevna is rather poorly, there is influenza about again. Nadya seems to be quite at home by now and is used to this way of life.

Sent from Munich to Podolsk

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FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

134

TO HIS MOTHER

September 21, 1901

Mother dearest,

I have received your letter of August 22. *Merci* for it and also for the money (35 rubles), which we at last received after long delays that had been caused accidentally by a friend. Our finances are not in too bad a state. My publisher has sent me something and I hope to manage on that for quite a time, especially as the cost of living here is not high if you run your own house. There is no need to send anything, *merci*.

We also received your letter to Nadya a short while ago and I replied to it.* Did you get my reply?

I have had the news from Anyuta that the investigation of the case involving our people is finished and the case has been handed over to the prosecutor. That is a good thing; they will now probably be less worried and the time they will be kept locked up will be shorter. Perhaps your request to have them released on bail will be granted. Surely they will not keep them in prison now that the investigation is over—that is hardly likely,

As regards our acquaintances in St. Petersburg things are pretty bad. There does not seem to be anybody left there, with the possible exception of one old friend** whom you know and whose wife visited you in Moscow when Yelizaveta Vasilyevna was at your place. But he is not

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* See previous letter.—*Ed*.

** This refers to I. N. Chebotaryov, a close acquaintance of the Ulyanov family.—*Ed*.

much use. Nadya has an old friend, Apollinariya Ivanovna Knipovich, Peterburgskaya Storona, Bolshoi Prospekt, No. 42, Apt. No. 16—although I do not know whether you can hope to get her to go bail. I will, however, write to her and if you are in St. Petersburg you can call on her.

We are still living as before. The weather here is a little better now, after a long period of rain, and we are making use of it for long walks in the beautiful country round about; since we did not manage to go away anywhere for the summer we have to take what chances we have! Yelizaveta Vasilyevna is now recovering and feels much better. She sends you and everybody her best regards, so does Nadya.

I embrace you fondly, my dear, and wish you good health—and also that our people will soon be released. Write and let me know when you have made arrangements for the winter. Is it not cold in that summer cottage by now?

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

Sent from Munich to Podolsk

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1902

135

TO HIS MOTHER

February 26, 1902

I am sending you Nadya's letter,* Mother dearest. I have received your letter and Manya's of January 31. Thank Mitya for taking on the job of forwarding the books.

Anyuta also wrote to me about Mark's plan. Well, Harbin, I think, is not so very far away now and it will soon be nearer—when the line is opened. Anyway, Mark will probably not have to stay there very long. And if he cannot find something to do anywhere else—well, doing nothing is the worst possible thing. Give him very best regards from us all and tell him that we hope he will soon return from his distant wanderings.

Y. V. is now quite well. She sends you her best wishes and the same to Manyasha, Mitya and Mark. She intends going to Russia soon; I do not know whether she will or not, but she is talking seriously about it.

I thank Manyasha again for the books: I have received them all. Gorky, Volume 5, we have (quite by chance). Let her convey our very best wishes to the inhabitant of "the neighbouring farmstead"**; I am very glad that an old friend has turned up, the one with whom we spent many excellent evenings. I hope to write him a long letter soon,

I wrote in the last letter that I like your group*** very much.

Many kisses, my dear. Hoping you are well.

Yours,
V. U.

Sent from Munich to Samara

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* The letter has been lost.—*Ed.*
** This refers to A. A. Preobrazhensky.—*Ed.*
*** Apparently a group photograph.—*Ed.*

136

TO HIS MOTHER

March 24, 1902

Mother dearest,

It is quite a while since I last received any news of you. How are you? We have recently been having perfect spring weather—people go out in summer coats or even without them. There has been no winter at all this year, I should say, though I expect winter is still with you even now in Russia. In Samara, I suppose, the snow is now melting and the time of impassable mud or puddles hidden under the snow is beginning.[223]

What have you in mind for the summer? It would be a good thing if you could get away from town, at least as far as the Zhiguli Hills if you cannot go any further (as I hope you will be able to). How are you keeping now, my dear? In spring, I suppose, all sorts of colds and other illnesses are going around your way too.

What does the future hold in store for Mark? Anyuta writes that instead of Manchuria he is now counting on getting a job somewhere on the Volga. Did he get the job, and where does he intend to live?

I have not had any letters from Mitya either and do not know whether he is in Moscow, or in the south, or how matters stand with his job.

What about Manyasha? Is she still working for the Zemstvo council? She, too, will have to get away from Samara in summer—I still cannot forget how foul it is in the heat.

We are also thinking of where to go in summer, although the towns here in summer are quite different from those of Russia.

I sometimes see Russian magazines—far from all of them and not regularly either. How do you people like Veresayev's

new story in *Mir Bozhy*? At first I expected a lot, but I am not very pleased with the continuation.

I embrace you fondly, my dear, and send best regards to Manyasha and all acquaintances.

Yours,
V. U.

Sent from Munich to Samara

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137

TO HIS MOTHER

April 2, 1902

Mother dearest,

I received Manyasha's letter only a little while ago. Thank her very much. A few days ago I wrote you that I have had no news of you for a long time. I even started sending Anyuta letters asking about you.

As regards books—please tell Manyasha not to send them until I let you have a *new* address.[224] I am grateful to her for sorting out the books; the *only* German books I should like to receive are those that are not needed (and *not even likely to be needed*) in Russia by you or *by acquaintances*. That is because I can easily get German books here, there is no shortage of them. But there is a shortage of Russian books, so please, could *all* possible Russian books be picked out and even *all* the statistics and put in a separate box, for I am beginning to miss these things and am thinking of having them all sent. I am particularly grateful to Manyasha for putting in some Russian classics.

How are you keeping now, my dear? Are you still thinking of a trip abroad in summer? It would be excellent, if it would not tire you too much.

Best regards to Mark. Has he at last received permission to leave?

What about the "doctor"* in Manchuria? I really should

* A. P. Sklyarenko.—*Ed.*

very much like to correspond with him. Hasn't his address been discovered yet?

Has Manyasha conveyed my best regards to the "old acquaintance" whom I used to visit at the farmstead?* I was very glad to have news of him.

Manyasha should also have a holiday in summer—somewhere in the Zhiguli Hills, eh?

I embrace you fondly, my dear; regards to all.

Yours,
V. U.

Sent from Munich to Samara

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* See Letter No. 135.—*Ed.*

138

TO HIS SISTER ANNA

B.R.Y.*
Postlagernd,
Postamt 100,
Luisenstr., 6,
Berlin

April 10, 1902

I am being run right off my feet! We are leaving** on the 12th. For the time being, in case of anything urgent, write to this address.

Mr. Alexejeff,
14, Frederick Street,
Gray's Inn Road,
London, *W. C.*

(*for Lenin*—inside).

The address of the local doctor is *in any case* valid; he will always forward letters.

Thank Auntia*** for the letter, which I received today (and for the books).

All the best.

Lenin

Sent from Munich

First published in 1925 in *Lenin Miscellany III*

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* The initials under which Lenin's sister received letters poste restante.—*Ed.*

** If there is any change I will write.

*** Auntie—A. M. Kalmykova.—*Ed.*

139

TO HIS MOTHER

May 8, 1902

Mother dearest,

A few days ago I received a postcard with a view of the Volga and with congratulations from Manyasha. Many thanks for it. I do not know whether you have been receiving my letters regularly lately. I have had nothing from you except that postcard for quite a while.

Do you correspond with Y. V. who is now in St. Petersburg and does not seem to like it very much and is thinking of coming back?

I am hoping to see you soon, my dear.[225] I hope the journey will not tire you too greatly. You absolutely must choose day trains and spend the nights in hotels. Hotels abroad are not expensive and you can spend a comfortable night in one. It is quite impossible to travel for several days without a rest because of the speed of the trains here and of the short stops.

I am anxiously awaiting news of your departure. Perhaps you will send a telegram from Russia, or from somewhere abroad, when you board the train that will actually bring you here. That would be much more convenient.

I wanted to ask you to bring some of the clothes I left behind, but now I think it is not worth while; the things I left behind must have come in handy for Mitya and it is not worth the trouble of buying new things in Russia and bringing them here. If there is anything left that is of no use to anyone else, you could bring it (not much, of course, so as not to overburden you).

I advise you to take express trains in Germany and Austria (the extra fare in the third class is small but the time gained is tremendous), and buy *Hendschel's Telegraph* and draw up a timetable before you leave home. Manyasha, for instance, is probably familiar with that directory.

I embrace you fondly, my dear; best regards to all.

Yours,
V. U.

Sent from London to Samara

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140

TO HIS MOTHER

June 7, 1902

Mother dearest,

I have received a letter from Manyasha and am very grateful to her. With regard to an address for the despatch of books, I will try and send it soon. It is a great pity that you still have to be bothered with this burden! Well, we shall put an end to all that soon and you will be rid of all the books.

We are all expecting you, my dear, and I am corresponding with Anyuta regarding her plans—how and where to make arrangements for you to stay. The weather seems to be continuing fine, here and where Anyuta lives.* Yelizaveta Vasilyevna writes that she will probably be leaving soon; she does not seem to be very well pleased with her trip (I, incidentally, tried all the time to talk her out of it, showing her that there was no need for her to go and that she would soon be missing us).

I do not write about my health because I am quite well. Nadya, too.

What about Mark and his job? Did he take the position in Tomsk and when is he going there?

Manya's tale of her boat trip made me very envious.... How I should like to be on the Volga in summer! What a fine time you and Anyuta and I had on the boat in the spring of 1900.[226] If I cannot get to the Volga, the Volga

* At that time Lenin's sister was living near Dresden.—*Ed.*

people must come here. There are some nice places here, too, although of a different kind.

Au revoir, my dear.

Your *V.* embraces you fondly.

P. S. I received the Gorky and Skitalets books and read them with *very great* interest. I have read them myself and passed them on to others.

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141

TO HIS MOTHER

September 14, 1902

Mother dearest,

We were all extremely glad to receive your telegram and later your postcard. Did you continue your journey comfortably? Wasn't it too tiring? Please drop me a couple of lines about this when you have rested and have settled down a bit.

Anyuta's photographs (the ones she sent, I mean) arrived in good time and in good condition.[227]

There have been no changes here. We are all well. The weather here is surprisingly fine for autumn—it must be compensation for a bad summer. Nadya and I have often been out locally in search of "real countryside" and have found it.

I embrace you fondly, my dear, and send my very best regards to Manyasha and Anya.

Yours,
V. U.

Sent from London to Samara

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142

TO HIS MOTHER

September 27, 1902

Mother dearest,

It is quite a while since I heard from you. I still do not know what sort of journey you had to Samara and how you are fixed up there. I doubt whether Manyasha is still living at the old address but I am writing there since I have no other and expect that the letter will he forwarded to her. Where is Anyuta? What news have you had from Mitya and Mark? What are you thinking of doing for the winter?

Are you well, my dear? Was the journey not too tiring?

Life goes on as usual; the only thing is that we have recently been a little busier. I have now got into a more regular way of life, but try to spend more time in the library.

The weather is extraordinarily fine—our reward for a dreadful summer. Nadya and I have travelled and walked round a great deal of the surrounding country and have found some very nice places. If you are having the same kind of weather you should take advantage of it somewhere in the country, because I expect there is little pleasure to be had from living in Samara itself, even at this time of the year.

I embrace you fondly, my dear, and hope you keep well. Best regards to all from Nadya, Y. V. and me.

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

Sent from London to Samara

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143

TO HIS MOTHER

November 9, 1902

Mother dearest,

I received your letter quite a long time ago but have somehow been unable to get down to answering it; and anyway I have been expecting an answer to my previous letter. Mitya's release[228]—in my last letter I wrote that I was sure of it—actually took place much quicker than I expected. I am particularly glad for Anyuta's sake, because she has not had to spend a long time hanging about various government offices (often an extremely unpleasant business, even more unpleasant than being in prison!) and has at last been able to go to Mark. She had been wandering from place to place without a home of her own, so to speak, for much too long.

What news is there now from her? Is Mark satisfied with his job? Does Mitya earn anything, and is he thinking of visiting you? I hope you are keeping well, my dear.

As for us, we are going on as usual and do nothing exciting. The weather is warm, similar to our August weather; even in a summer coat it is hot (of course people are *von unten warm angezogen*,* in the jerseys they wear abroad). I have got fairly well used to the local way of life and am acquiring a practical command of the language. Y. V. is now well and does not get ill very often. Nadya gets a little tired, but in general is reasonably well.

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* Warmly dressed underneath (Ger.).—*Ed.*

Not long ago I received some new Russian books such as Zheleznov's (*Politicheskaya ekonomiya*) but have had no time to read them. I was not very pleased with them when I glanced through them. I read mostly Moscow newspapers—still the same old thing. I see the local papers in reading-rooms.

How are you keeping, in general, this winter?

I embrace you fondly, my dear, and send very best regards to all.

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

Sent from London to Samara

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144

TO HIS MOTHER

December 17, 1902

Mother dearest,

A few days ago we received Manyasha's letter to Nadya with your postscript and I was very glad to hear from you because there had been no news for a long time. There was also a short letter from Anyuta; she seems to be well content with her new place. Manyasha writes that you will soon be seeing Mitya and his wife.* Give him very best regards from me and all of us. Perhaps Anyuta will visit you, too, and you will all he together for a short while during the holidays. That would be fine.

Our life here goes on just the same as usual. It was cold for a few weeks (cold here means "not thawing") but there was no snow and we all caught colds. But we are all right now. The weather is again wet—at this rate I shall soon get unused to our winter!

I see from Manyasha's letter that she liked Zheleznov's book. I have not read it, of course; I merely turned over the pages, and so cannot undertake to judge. When I have read it, I will write about it. What I wrote concerned only the first, *superficial* impression.

Manyasha also writes that she has taken up languages, even English. I thought of sending her a textbook on pronunciation, a very good one, in German. I have been doing some study lately and am very pleased with the book;

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*Lenin's brother and his wife visited Samara in the winter of 1902.—*Ed.*

I can't praise it enough. The book is, Henry Sweet, *Elementarbuch des gesprochenen Englisch*, Oxford, 1901, and it costs something like a ruble twenty-live kopeks. If Manyasha would like me to, I can send it; I do not need it any more. Since she has Toussaint, however, I don't know whether it is worth while, because Toussaint is excellent. I used not to believe in this system but now I am sure it is the only serious, efficient system. If you take a few lessons from a native foreigner after working through the first part of Toussaint you can certainly acquire a thorough knowledge of the language. There are Toussaint dictionaries now as well, in which the *pronunciation is indicated*; I strongly advise Manyasha to buy them because our Alexandrov is *wrong in many cases*. (For instance, I strongly advise her to buy Muret's pocket dictionary that uses the Toussaint method, *Taschenwörterbuch der englischen und deutschen Sprache*, *Teil I*, *Englisch-deutsch*, Preis 2 Mark. Berlin, 1902. *Langenscheidtsche* Verlagsbucbhandlung.)

Well, I have used up a lot of paper talking about books.... I want to order *Problemy idealizma*—this seems to be a "militant" review by the nonsense-mongering gentlemen.[229]

Y. V. and Nadya send their regards. I hope you will soon be receiving visitors and have some relief from your loneliness.

I embrace you fondly, my dear.

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

Sent from London to Samara

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145

TO HIS MOTHER

December 26, 1902

Mother dearest,

Please send the enclosed letter to Anyuta; I have not got her address, I must have lost it (I have not yet written her a single letter) and perhaps she is not in Tomsk now, but with you. I believe you were hoping you would all be together for the holidays, Mitya as well. Write and tell me whether it turned out that way, and whether you made the acquaintance of Mitya's wife.

We still have absolutely nothing new to tell you. The cold is over and we now have what we would call autumn weather; by way of exception it is dry, and this is very pleasant. The holidays here will probably be rather boring—few meetings, the reading-rooms closed and the theatres all overcrowded and difficult to get into. However, I am hoping to see some new acquaintances during this period.

I have recently been reading the German newspapers more than usual; there have been some interesting happenings in Germany and sometimes I wanted to get the story straight from the source. Things seem to be quieting down there, too.[230]

How are you getting on? Are the worst frosts over? Have you any new acquaintances?

Hoping you will have a good time this holiday and will all keep well.

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

Sent from London to Samara

First published in 1929 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from the original

1903

146

TO HIS MOTHER

February 4, 1903

Mother dearest,

It is a very long time since I received as much as a single letter from you or any of our people. One of your letters must have gone astray, because I cannot believe that nobody has written to me all this time. I don't know whether Mitya came to visit you, whether he stayed for long, what his plans are, and where he is now. Have you had any news of Anyuta, did she move to Port Arthur[231] and when? Are you well? Is the weather in Russia really still as cold as ever?

The weather here is fine. It has been an exceptionally good mild winter, with very little rain or fog (*so far*). Y. V., it is true, still gets ill rather often; she is ill now but not very badly, so we are making do with home treatment and Russian remedies. It would probably be good for her to move somewhere further south. Nadya and I are both well and are jogging along as usual. We recently went to our first concert this winter and were very pleased with it—especially with Chaikovsky's latest symphony (*Symphonic pathétique*). Are there any good concerts in Samara? We went once to a German theatre but what we should like would be to visit the Russian Art Theatre and see *The Lower Depths*.

I embrace you fondly, my dear, and wish you everything of the best, especially health. Regards to all; perhaps you will forward the letter to Anyuta. Otherwise, when shall I learn her address?

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

Have I got your address right?

Sent from London to Samara

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147

TO HIS MOTHER

February 22, 1903

Mother dearest,

I have received your letter, for which a big *merci*. It was very interesting to hear about Anyuta. By the way, please send her this letter as I do not know her address. It is true she recently sent me a brief note for which I am very grateful, but she forgot to say anything about her address and, in general, she was so hazy about everything that I am completely bewildered. I learned about the "Chinese" philistines* only from you. In a way, that is closer to Europe, or to the New World! Rather interesting, I think, very much so, in fact!

I am very, very sorry about the old friend.**

Would it not be quicker to correspond with the Chinese lady through Japan or through some British port? True enough, it is farther by sea, but the Europeans are many times more punctual!

Life here goes on as usual. Nothing particularly good has happened and nothing bad either, and in general I feel much less *ueberarbeitet**** than before. I expect to take a trip to Germany in a few days.[232] The weather is astonishingly fine, it is hot in a light coat; sunshine and a warm, warm breeze.... Just right for walking.

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* Lenin's sister Anna and her husband Mark Yelizarov.—*Ed.*

** A. P. Sklyarenko.—*Ed.*

*** Overworked (Ger.).—*Ed.*

How are you getting on? Where are Mitya and his wife? How is Manyasha?

I embrace you fondly, my dear, and wish you good health.

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

Best regards to all, especially to Anya and Mark!

Sent from London to Samara
First published in 1929
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the original

148

TO HIS MOTHER

March 29, 1903

Mother dearest,

I received your letter a few days ago—a big *merci* for it. So Anyuta has been delayed in the Far East longer than she expected. I thought she would be with you by now. Still, I suppose a long journey like that requires some preparation. Mitya, too, it seems, has not yet decided on where he is going to live. Is poor Manyasha very lonesome?

I am glad it is warmer now in Samara, because very cold winters are extremely tiring. Are you now feeling better, my dear?

It is warm here. We recently took Y. V. on a long outing too—we took sandwiches with us instead of lunch and spent the whole of one Sunday *ins Grüne* (quite unintentionally we are taking to foreign ways and arrange our outings on Sundays of all days, though that is the worst time because everywhere is crowded). We had a long walk, the air went to our heads as if we were children and afterwards I had to lie down and rest, as I did after a shooting trip in Siberia. In general, we do not miss a chance to go on outings. We are the only people among the comrades here who are exploring *every bit* of the surrounding country. We discover various "rural" paths, we know all the places nearby and intend to go further afield. I have been feeling very well lately, I work regularly and do not worry about the commotion around me. Nadya and Y. V. are also well.

I embrace you fondly, my dear. Please write from time to time (or ask Manyasha to) about yourselves and your plans.

Yours,

V. Ulyanov

Sent from London to Samara

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1904

148

TO HIS MOTHER

January 8, 1904

Mother dearest,

I forgot to reply to Manyasha about the 150 rubles she was enquiring about. Let them remain with you, for the time being at any rate. I would, however, ask you to buy a few books with some of the money. I have already written about a Russian-French Dictionary. To this I should like to add Sechenov's *Elementy mysli* (a recently published book).

A few days ago I had a wonderful outing to Salève with Nadya and a friend.* Down below in Geneva it was all mist and gloom, but up on the mountain (about 4,000 feet above sea level) there was glorious sunshine, snow, tobogganing—altogether a good Russian winter's day. And at the foot of the mountain—*la mer du brouillard*, a veritable sea of mist and clouds, concealing everything except the mountains jutting up through it, and only the highest at that. Even little Salève (nearly 3,000 feet) was wrapped in mist.

So we are beginning to get to know Switzerland and its scenery. In the spring we intend to make a long walking tour.

I embrace you fondly, my dear. Are you keeping well? How are you?

Sent from Geneva to Kiev

First published in 1929 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from the original

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* F. V. Lengnik.—*Ed.*

150

TO HIS MOTHER

Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova,
Laboratornaya, 12, Apt. 14,
Kiev

Mother dearest,

I am glad that you are feeling a little more at ease—the main thing is for our detainees to keep well.[233] In view of the large number of arrests they may simply have been caught in the dragnet....

Send me Mark Timofeyevich's address, I shall have some literary business for him. He is in St. Petersburg. Did you receive Nadya's letter, she wrote to you recently. My address: Geneva, Chemin privé du Foyer, 10.

Yours,
V.

Written January 20, 1904
First published in 1929
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N. K. KRUPSKAYA
1903

151

KRUPSKAYA AND LENIN TO LENIN'S MOTHER

July 2

Dear Maria Alexandrovna,

We received Manyasha's letter the day before yesterday and yours yesterday. How glad I was! If only they will soon release Anya! I embrace you fondly, my dears. It is such a pity that you are both suffering from ill health. You absolutely must take a rest—the main thing is to get your lungs filled with fresh air; after all, Kiev is a city. The only thing is that in the north the summer is bad; Mother is living near St. Petersburg at the country house of some friends and complains of the terrible cold and the rain. I believe that there is everything conducive to rest at M. T.'s country place.

We are now on holiday, too. We have let our house and I am very glad we have, because keeping it clean and housekeeping in general took the whole day, there was sometimes such a hubbub at our place; the need to think about housekeeping all the time was a nuisance. If you go out for a walk, you are left without milk, if you are not up by seven o'clock you have the pleasure of going to town for meat, and so on. And in winter it was so cold. We shall now find something more convenient. In general I am dreaming of autumn, when I shall be able to sit down and work seriously. I am thinking of various ways of avoiding the constant turmoil; it is terribly tiring. We are now in Lausanne. It is already a week since we got away from Geneva and are now resting in the full sense of the word. We have left our work and our worries in Geneva and here

we sleep 10 hours a day, and go swimming and walking—Volodya does not even read the newspapers properly; we took a minimum of books with us, and even those we are sending back to Geneva tomorrow, unread, while we ourselves shall don our rucksacks at four in the morning and set out for a two weeks' walking tour in the mountains.[234] We shall go to Interlaken and from there to Lucerne. We are reading Baedeker and planning our journey carefully. In a week we have "recovered" quite considerably and have even begun to look healthy again. It has been a difficult winter and our nerves have been under such a strain that we cannot be blamed for taking a month's holiday, although I am already feeling guilty about it. The weather is a bit doubtful, there is no rain, but the air is rather misty. For the time being that is all I have to write about us. Volodya and I have made an agreement not to talk about our work—work, he says, is not a bear and will not escape to the woods—not even to mention it, and, as far as possible, not to think about it.

I shall be writing to Manyasha, probably this evening, and in the meantime I embrace all of you fondly, my dears, and send you many kisses.

Yours,
Nadya

Mother dearest,

I will add just a few words. Very best regards to Manyasha and congratulations on her release. This summer you absolutely must rest. Please go and stay in the country somewhere. We are taking walks and having a good holiday. I embrace you.

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

Written July 2, 1904
Sent from Lausanne to Kiev

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Printed from
the original

152

TO HIS MOTHER*

Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova,
Laboratornaya Street, 12, Apt. 14,
Kiev,
Russia

Greetings from the tramps, dear Mother and Manyasha.

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

Written July 7 or 8, 1904
Sent from Frutigen (Switzerland)
First published in 1929
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

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the original

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* This was written on a picture postcard with a view of the Kandersteg near Frutigen, through which Lenin and Krupskaya passed during their mountain tour.—*Ed.*

153

TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER MARIA*

Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova,
Laboratornaya Street, 12, Apt. 14,
Kiev,
Russia

July 16, 1904

Greetings from our *Mon Repos*. In a day or two we shall be off once again. Is Mother well? It is a long time since we had any news. Please write.

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

Sent from Iseltwald (Switzerland)

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* This was written on a picture postcard with a view of Iseltwald am Brienzersee.—*Ed.*

154

TO HIS MOTHER

August 28, 1904

Mother dearest,

I have not written to you for a long time because I was not certain of your address. Today we received letters from Y. V. and Manyasha. Thank her for the trouble she has taken over the translations. Nadya will write about this in detail. I have now received Hobson's book on imperialism and have begun translating it[235]—only a little at a time because I am still enjoying the summer way of life—walking, swimming and lazing around. Altogether, I have had an excellent rest this summer!

What about you? Is the cottage at Sablino a good one? Are you having a good rest? What is the outlook for the future? Are you keeping well? How are Anyuta and Manyasha after their imprisonment? Drop me a line about this because Manyasha only speaks about translations.

I embrace you fondly, my dear, and send regards to all.

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

Have I got the address right? If you change it, let me know in good time. My address: Rue de la Colline, 3, Genève, but *on the envelope* you absolutely must write: *V. I. Ulyanov*, *Personal*.

Sent from Geneva to Sablino
(near St. Petersburg)

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the original

1907

155

LENIN AND KRUPSKAYA TO LENIN'S MOTHER

June 27, 1907

Mother dearest,

For a long time I have not written you anything. Anyuta has probably told you of our plans for a holiday. I came back terribly tired. I have now completely recovered. Here you can have a wonderful rest, swimming, walking, no people and no work.[236] No people and no work—that is the best thing for me. I expect to be here another fortnight or so and then to return to work. Nadya and her mother are well and are having a good holiday.

How are you all fixed up there? Are you well? Have you seen Anyuta? Where is she? With you now, or with Mark? When you can, drop me a line or ask Mitya to.

I embrace you fondly,

Yours,

V. Ul.

Regards from me to Mitya and his wife.

Dear Maria Alexandrovna,

Volodya does not usually send regards and so I send regards to you from Mother and myself. We also send regards to all our people. I can confirm the fact that we are having a good rest; we have all put on so much weight it's not decent to show ourselves in public.... Here there is a pine forest, sea, magnificent weather, in short, everything is excellent. It is also a good thing that there is no housekeeping to do. And what sort of a rest are you having? How

is your malaria? Have you got rid of it completely? Do you go mushrooming? How are you, in general, and what are you doing? Here we are cut off from the whole world; although there is a post six times a week nobody writes anything. Once again I embrace you fondly.

Yours,
Nadya

Sent from Stjernsund to Mikhnevo, Serpukhov Uyezd, Moscow Gubernia

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156

LENIN AND KRUPSKAYA TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA

Dear Manyasha,

Thanks for the letter. I must apologise for not answering at once. I have got so "embedded" in summer holidays and in loafing (I am having a rest such as I have not had for several years) that I am still postponing all business matters, great and small.

I am against boycotting the Third Duma; I have been writing a little piece on this subject which will probably soon be out.[237] In my opinion that slogan must not be revived unless there is a situation of heightened political activity, unless there is a struggle against early constitutional illusions. Any fresh burst of enthusiasm (there may be one on account of the July strike of Moscow textile workers—up to 400,000 are expected to strike) must be expanded, preparations must be made, it must be made general, but it would be out of place to declare a boycott. We must not renounce the slogan altogether; if the situation arises we shall, in a moment of political upsurge, propose a boycott. To declare a boycott at the moment would be either premature bravado or the uncritical repetition of slogans that have a glorious revolutionary past. Such, in a few words, is my argument; it is developed in detail in the press.*

* It should be out in about a fortnight.

Write and tell me how you are fixed up and whether you are satisfied. Best regards to Mark and all acquaintances. We are having a wonderful rest and are loafing.

Many kisses,
Yours,
V. U.

Darling Manyasha,

I am adding a few words. There is nothing to write about since we are, at the moment, "outside public interests" and are leading a holiday life—bathing in the sea, cycling (the roads are bad, by the way, so you can't go far). Volodya plays chess, fetches water, at one time we had a craze for the English game of "Donkey", and so on. The only thing is that Lidya has a lot of bother with the housekeeping.... Everybody here is putting on weight splendidly. We could read a lot but none of the books here are very suitable and anyway we don't feel like reading.

Many kisses,
Yours,
N.

Our people (Lidya and Mother) send regards, of course.

Written at the end of June 1907
Sent from Stjernsund to Kinel Station (Samara Gubernia)

First published in 1931
in Lenin's *Letters to Relatives*

Printed from
the original

157

TO HIS MOTHER

October 15, 1907

Mother dearest,

It is a long time since I wrote to you. I believe the last letter was the one I sent from my summer *Mon Repos*. We have now settled down to family life for the winter in the old place.[238] We hope the winter will not be as cold as the last. But we shall arrange things better now and "batten down the hatches". I am very pleased with the premises and with the way things have been fixed up. Manyasha has been staying with us and is still here, but she intends leaving today because winter is setting in; the first snow fell today and it has turned cold.

How are you getting along there? Will it be all right in the country when the real cold sets in? Please convey my best regards to Mitya. It was a pity I could not visit him in the autumn,[239] we could have had some magnificent shooting, the weather was splendid all the time. When is he getting his holiday, for how long, and where is he going?

I have had a couple of letters from Anyuta. She seems to be pleased with her trip.* The route is an interesting one and it will probably be very fine down south now.

Here we are living in a small company of good friends.** We have books and work. We take walks along the sea-

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* Lenin's sister Anna was abroad at the time.—*Ed.*

** At that time A. A. Bogdanov, I. F. Dubrovinsky, N. A. Rozhkov and G. D. Leiteisen lived at Kuokkala.—*Ed.*

shore. I think Manyasha felt very well here; she worked a lot, translating.

Nearly all of us recently paid tribute to autumn—with a dose of influenza for a couple of days. Now we are all well or convalescent. Yelizaveta Vasilyevna also feels quite well—only she sometimes gets too worried over the housekeeping.

I embrace and kiss you, my dear. I hope you will keep well.

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

Sent from Kuokkala to Mikhnevo,
Serpukhov Uyezd,
Moscow Gubernia

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1908

158

TO HIS SISTER MARIA

Her Excellency Maria Ilyinichna Ulyanova,
Pavlovskaya Street, 6, Apt, 16,
Peterburgskaya Storona,
St. Petersburg,
Russia

January 14, 1908

Dear Manyasha,

I am sending you the copy of *Obrazovaniye*[240] that I brought with me by mistake. I don't think I owe you any more books, do I? If I do, please let me know.

We have been hanging about in this damned Geneva for several days now[241].... It is an awful hole, but there is nothing we can do. We shall get used to it. How are you? Are you freezing? Is Mother well? Please kiss her for me and give my regards to Anyuta, and to Mitya, too, if he has not yet left.

Yesterday I wrote to Lev Borisovich about an article* and asked him to obtain for me the minutes of the Third Duma (the officially published verbatim reports and also the announcements, questions and bills brought before the Duma). These can only be obtained through acquaintances. Please make an effort to see that someone agrees to get them for me, and send them *all*, missing nothing. Please send me also *all* the trade union journals that are still being published in Russia (in St. Petersburg, and Moscow as well) —buy them *immediately*. From the sum I am to receive from the publisher on January 4, please get 50 rubles from

* This letter has been lost.—*Ed.*

Yelizaveta Vasilyevna and send me *everything* new that the Mensheviks publish (if they do) and so on. I have ordered *Tovarishch* (*Nash Vek*)[242] for myself from January 1 and will also keep track of new publications. If L. B. is too lazy or too busy to write, please find out his answer (to my questions) and let me know. By the way, I need an answer about Granat (History of Russia); has a contract for my article[243] been concluded with him or has it fallen through? Let L. B. reconnoitre and inform you.

All the very best,
Yours,
V. Ulyanov

*Tournez s'il vous plait.**

Have you sent my papers and Nadya's? If not, please send them as soon as possible by registered post. I need my papers in order to get my *permis d'établissement*.**

My address: Vl. Oulianoff. 17. Rue des deux Ponts. 17. (Chez Küpfer) Genève.

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* Please turn over (Fr.).—*Ed.*
** Residence permit (Fr.).—*Ed.*

159

LENIN AND KRUPSKAYA TO LENIN'S MOTHER

January 22, 1908

Mother dearest,

Today I received a letter from you and Manya and hasten to reply. I was very glad to receive news from you direct—I have not received any of Manyasha's earlier letters. We had to resort to forwarding letters until we arrived in Geneva and it was a nuisance.

We were greatly worried at the news of Anyuta's bad attack of influenza. Your apartment must be a bad one (Nadya says it is damp), if there are such complications. Are you all well now? How is Mitya? Has he gone away again in connection with his work?

We are now settling down here and our arrangements, of course, will not be worse than before. The only unpleasant thing was the actual moving, which was a change for the worse. That, however, was inevitable. About Capri—as soon as I arrived I found a letter from Gorky, who very insistently invites me there. Nadya and I have made up our minds to accept that invitation and take a trip to Italy (in Capri *now* the narcissi are in bloom, so the Gorkys write), but not yet. All our affairs must be settled first and then we can travel.

I wrote to Manyasha yesterday or the day before with further requests for books. Am I giving her too many orders?

I embrace you, my dear, and hope you are quite well. Regards to all from Nadya and myself.

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

Dear everybody,

What a rotten time you have had with this damned influenza! Perhaps it's because the flat is damp? I am glad you are getting better.... Many kisses for all of you; I hope you will soon recover and get your strength back completely.

Yours,
Nadya

Sent from Geneva to St. Petersburg

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160

TO HIS SISTER MARIA

Her Excellency Maria Ilyinichna Ulyanova,
Pavlovskaya Street, 6, Apt. 16,
Peterburgskaya Storona,
St. Petersburg,
Russia

February 7, 1908

Dear Manyasha,

I have received your letter of January 20, a letter from the young writer on the same subject, and today I received *Rech*.[244] I am very, very grateful for the newspaper, the article is really extremely interesting!

With regard to Webb—I have written to the young writer and have sent him something in the nature of power of attorney. In any case I repeat (1) I do not know how many copies of the first edition there were; (2) Struve was the manager of the editorial office at that time and he edited the first volume; (3) the second volume was translated by Y. Smirnov (Gurevich). I then received 20 rubles for a printer's signature for the translation of the first volume and 10 rubles a signature for editing the second. Let the young writer haggle—if need be, let, him go down to a half of that, provided the contract is concluded for a definite number of copies.

Yesterday I also received a letter from a colleague about Granat. Things are working out quite well for me there.

As regards our marriage lines and the palm oil wanted in Krasnoyarsk, I propose that you should not take too much trouble or give any large quantity of palm oil. It looks as if we shall manage without it.

In a month, *if not sooner*, we intend to set up our own apartment here.

With regard to the symposium in memory of Marx, it does not seem likely that I shall take part in it, either; such things cannot be written in a hurry.[245]

Our people are taking a surprisingly long time to get well! It's too bad. The influenza this year must be particularly malignant, or else you are having very bad weather. Write and tell me how Mother is.

I have not yet fully settled down here—for instance, I have not yet joined my "club", where it is convenient to read periodicals and easy to obtain new books.[246] I shall try (as soon as I have joined—probably in a day or two) to find whatever I can for you to translate. Do you receive *Neue Zeit*? In the science supplement to No. 1 there is an article by Kautsky "Nationalität und Internationalität". I have not yet seen it. Is it not suitable for translation? I have read Kautsky's *Sozialismus und Kolonialpolitik* (a new pamphlet of 80 pages). I think it would be permitted. Talk to *Zerno**[247] about it; it would be a good thing to translate it. I am also surprised that no announcement is to be seen of a translation of Parvus's *Kolonialpolitik und Zusammenbruch*. Has no one any initiative? Ask *Zerno*. I could get in touch with the author here, abroad.

All the best, kiss Mother for me.

Yours,

V. Ulyanov

P.S. I have not received Bonch's *Selected Works*.

Of the trade union journals I have received *Gudok* and *Tekstilnoye delo*. In future please send *all* such publications.

Sent from Geneva

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* Please ask them at the same time whether I may send new things *for you* to *their* address, things that *may be* suitable for translation.

161

TO HIS SISTER MARIA

February 14, 1908

Dear Manyasha,

I recently wrote to you about some translations. I should now like to add that I have read *Ergänzungsheft* No. 1 to *Neue Zeit*—an article by Kautsky "Nationalität und Internationalität". I remember you said you receive *Neue Zeit*, so I shall not send it from here (give me an address to which I can send foreign books and articles, in case I need it). In my opinion this is a thing that can be published legally and is really worth translating. Propose it to the publisher (36 pages). The best thing of all would be to publish it (it is a criticism of Bauer) with the book by Otto Bauer, *Die Nationalitätenfrage und die Sozialdemokratie* (Anya probably has this book since she translated one chapter of it).

One of my colleagues here wants someone to ask the publisher whether he would undertake to publish Huschke's *Landwirtschaftliche Reinertragsberechnungen*, which I quoted in Part I of my *Agrarian Question*.[248] If an opportunity occurs, ask the publisher and I will promise to write a preface. But if the truth be told, it is too highly specialised a book....

I had a talk with the Director of the Police Department yesterday about my *Acte de mariage*. It seems that it is necessary. Ask some lawyer of your acquaintance to think of some other way of getting a copy from Krasnoyarsk (because probably no great hopes are to be placed in "palm oil"). There does exist some (legal) procedure which makes

it possible to obtain proof of marriage. Cannot Yelizaveta Vasilyevna apply to a justice of the peace or to the relevant authority in St. Petersburg and demand from him an *instruction* to issue a *certificate* to her requiring the Krasnoyarsk church authorities to supply her with a copy of the marriage lines (either for *legal action* against her daughter, or in connection with the disposal of an inheritance, etc.). Is it not possible by *some such means* to obtain the certificate or a copy of it? Ask a lawyer.

How is everybody? Have Mother and Anyuta fully recovered?

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

P.S. Very, very many thanks for the minutes of the Third Duma. I ask you most urgently *to continue* sending them, to send more often and to send them together with bills and questions.

Sent from Geneva to St. Petersburg

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162

TO HIS SISTER MARIA

February 17, 1908

Dear Manyasha,

Please send me the following books:

1. *Minuvshiye Gody* No. 1 (January, price 85 kopeks) *containing letters from Marx to* Mikhailovsky and *from Mikhailovsky to Lavrov*.

2. *Materialy k istori russkoi kontrrevolyutsii*, Vol. 1. Price 2 rubles 50 kopeks.

3. *Nashi deputaty** (Third Convocation). 50 kopeks ("Osnova"—bookshop?).

4. Lokot. *Byudzhetnaya i podatnaya politika Rossii*. 1 ruble.

5. Almazov. *Nasha Revolyutsiya* (1902-7). 1 ruble 50 kopeks (work)—I do not know whether this last-named book is any use as I have no information about it. All the same, I must take a look at it!

6. *Ocherk zabastovochnogo dvizheniya rabochikh Bakinskogo neftepromyshlennogo raiona za 1903-6 gg*. Baku. 1907. Price 1 ruble 50 kopeks.

I have not received any Duma minutes of sittings later than the twentieth. I must have them *together* with the Bills! The newspaper *Stolichnaya Pochta*, for instance, recently reported the publication of a programme of "a group of moderate peasants". Please get it for me! It would not be bad to get hold of programmes, announcements and leaflets

* If there is an edition containing *portraits* the best thing would be to buy that.

of the Octobrists, the Rights, the Cossack group, etc., if you have any Duma contacts. All these "bits of paper" probably lie about on the floor of the Duma and nobody picks them up.

I wrote to you a few days ago about translations (of Kautsky); did you get that letter?* Did you get the manuscript of the second part of my Volume Two[249] (sent from here on February 5, 1908 N.S, by a roundabout route)?

I shall write to Mother about money.

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

If you have an opportunity, please pass on the enclosed sheet to Meshkovsky. I should like to get a direct address for correspondence from him and from Lindov. Tell them that. What was the outcome of Lindov's "squabble" with Bonch[250] and the conflict at the publisher's on the same grounds?

Sent from Geneva to St. Petersburg

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* See Letters Nos. 160 and 161.—*Ed.*

163

TO HIS SISTER ANNA

March 10, 1908

Dear Anyuta,

I have received your letter of February 21. It really is terrible that you should have got hold of a damp apartment and are all so ill. And what a misfortune for Manyasha to get typhus! Lidiya Mikhailovna writes every day and says that her temperature is not very high. I am afraid, however, of taking comfort from this news—there are grave forms of typhus that are not accompanied by high temperatures.

How is Mother keeping now? If you have no time to write, ask L. Mikh., since she is the one who writes, to add a couple of lines.

Mark was actually wrong to leave such a large sum out of his resettlement allowance, because my publisher now pays me enough.[251] It goes without saying that you absolutely must spend that money to make things easier for Manyasha and Mother or to help them get away to a better place. Could they not come here?

I have sent Manyasha a book to translate (a German novel). Did she get it (from Leipzig[252])? I also wrote to her about a book by Anatole France (*La vie de Jeanne d'Arc*) and one by Sinclair (Alexinsky suggests they be translated).

All the best and please give Mother many kisses. Nadya has gone away on business but asks me to send you her regards.

Yours,
Vl. Ulyanov

Sent from Geneva to St. Petersburg

First published in 1930
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164

TO HIS SISTER MARIA

Dear Manyasha,

I hope that by now you will be able to read this yourself and are almost well again. Your illness has dragged on a disgustingly long time! The main thing, however, is not to have a relapse. The most dangerous thing after that disease is fatigue or nervous excitement. Now would be the time to send you to Stjernsund!* When you have *completely* recovered, drop me a line. I am going to Italy[253] for a week or so. I shall write when I get back.

Love and kisses and get well soon.

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

Written between April 19 and 23, 1908
Sent from Geneva to St. Petersburg

First published in 1929 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from the original

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* See Letters Nos. 155 and 156.—*Ed.*

165

TO HIS MOTHER

June 20, 1908

Mother dearest,

It seems quite a while since I last wrote to you. I think the last time was a postcard from London.[254] I arrived back from there with a bout of abdominal catarrh. I am better now and have begun to eat properly, and after the diet feel hungry all the time. I have begun work again.

Life here goes on as usual. The weather is extremely changeable—one day it is hot, oppressive and stormy and then, like today, it is rainy and cold. Summer has not yet come into its own.

How are you getting on in the country? I hope that Manyasha has completely recovered. We are expecting her here. Best regards to Mitya.

I embrace you fondly, my dear.

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

P.S. It is a pity that the Moscow publisher-philosopher* has refused to publish my book. I should like you, if you can, to write to some of your Moscow literary acquaintances and ask them whether they can find a publisher. I now have no contacts in this field.

I have been told that Anyuta read the proofs of the last part of my agrarian book. I have still not received a single copy! It is *extremely important*, for many reasons, for me

* This refers to P. G. Dauge.—*Ed.*

to obtain two or three copies, even if they are not stitched.[255] I realise, of course, that to ask for them direct would be careless, inconvenient, etc., from all points of view. If there is the slightest opportunity of doing so privately, or if Anyuta has even one copy, I ask you to send it to me, at least for a time. I stand very much in need of it at this very moment.

Regards from all of us!

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

Sent from Geneva to Mikhnevo,
Serpukhov Uyezd, Moscow Gubernia

First published in 1929
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from
the original

166

TO HIS SISTER MARIA

July 13, 1908

Dear Manyasha,

I have just received your letter with Anyuta's postscript. I was very glad to get the news. I was extremely glad to learn that there is a possibility of its publication in autumn.* Your St. Petersburg correspondent, however, has forgotten to answer one of my questions, an important one—is it not possible to obtain *even one* copy of the book in printed form, whether it has been made up or not? If the book is to come out in the autumn this is not impossible. I am prepared to pay five or even ten rubles to get a copy now. The point is that it is absolutely essential for me to show this book, before autumn, to certain people who cannot read the manuscript. If I cannot show the book to these people before autumn, I stand to lose a lot in all respects. And so, since you have the St. Petersburg address, and the owner of that address answers you and is closely in touch with the whole business—I ask you very earnestly to write to him and enquire, if there is the slightest opportunity, to get me *just one copy*, even if it means giving the right person "palm oil" to the extent of five rubles.

My illness has held up my work on philosophy very badly. I am now almost well again and will most certainly write the book. I have been doing a lot of work on the

* See Letter No. 162.—*Ed.*

Machists and I think I have sorted out all their inexpressible vulgarities (and those of "empirio-monism" as well).*

I am writing to M. Iv-na in Paris and giving her a recommendation.**

Give Mother many kisses for me. Best regards to all. I keep forgetting to write to tell Anyuta that I have received 340 rubles. So far I do not need money. Best regards to Mitya, Mark, Anyuta and everybody.

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

P.S. When you or anybody else happens to be in Moscow, please buy me two books by Chelpanov, (1) *Avenarius i yego shkola* and (2) *Immanentnaya filosofiya*. They cost a ruble each. Published by *Voprosy Filosofii i Psikhologii*. The two hooks are issued as part of a series called either Essays and Research, or simply research, or monographs, or something of the sort

Are you having a good rest this summer? The weather here is fine. I go cycling and bathing. Nadya and Y. V. send best regards to everyone.

Sent from Geneva to Mikhnevo,
Serpukhov Uyezd, Moscow Gubernia

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* Lenin refers to his work on *Materialism and Empirio-criticism*.—*Ed*.

** M. I. Veretennikova, Lenin's cousin. The letter and recommendation have been lost.—*Ed*.

167

TO HIS SISTER MARIA

August 9, 1908

Dear Manyasha,

I am sending you a picture of the place I have just returned from. I went to the mountains for a holiday. The weather prevented my staying there longer. Nevertheless I had an excellent holiday. I hope that in about six weeks my too-long-delayed work will at last be finished. Then we shall be able to go walking together. I am hoping very much that you will pay us a long visit in autumn. You will, won't you? Of course, you will! It would be wonderful if Mother could come, too. The weather this summer has not been good, more rain and thunderstorms than usual. There is a hope that September will turn out fine here. Do come!

Maria Ivanovna was here on her way from Paris. We had a bit of a chat. I visited her last Sunday evening. She spent a couple of days in Geneva and then went on to Italy. She was not long in Paris—a fortnight altogether. In general she is doing her tour abroad in too much of a rush!

Give Mother many, many kisses for me.

Yours,
V. U.

We are all well and all send best regards.

P.S. Vers l'Eglise is not far from Diablerets.[256] We did not go there together. It is two and a half hours from Geneva by rail and about four hours on foot.

Sent from Geneva to Mikhnevo,
Serpukhov Uyezd, Moscow Gubernia

First published in 1929
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the original

168

TO HIS MOTHER*

P.S. Today I read an amusing newspaper article on the inhabitants of Mars in connection with a new English book by Lowell, *Mars and Its Canals*. Lowell is an astronomer who has worked for a long time in a special observatory which, I believe, is the best in the world (in America).

It is a scientific work. It argues that Mars is inhabitable, that the canals are a miracle of engineering, that people on that planet must be two and two-thirds the size of our people here, and that they, furthermore, have trunks and are covered with feathers or animal skins and have four *or six* legs. Hmm... the author** cheated us by describing the Martian beauties only *in part*, according to the principle that "... the deceit that elevates is dearer to us than a host of vulgar truths".[257]

A new story by Gorky has been published—*The Last*.

Written in the summer of 1908
Sent from Geneva to Mikhnevo,
Serpukhov Uyezd, Moscow Gubernia

First published in 1929
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

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the original

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* The letter to which this is the postscript has been lost.—*Ed.*

** A. Bogdanov, author of the novel *Krasnaya Zvezda* (The Red Star).—*Ed.*

169

TO HIS MOTHER

September 30, 1908

Mother dearest,

I have not written to you for a long time; I hoped that Manyasha would come and tell me about you but her journey is constantly being postponed. It would be a good thing if she could come in the second half of October (New Style) and we could take a trip to Italy together. I am thinking of taking a week's holiday when I have finished my work (it is now drawing to a close).* On October 11 I shall be in Brussels for three days and shall return here afterwards and might think of a trip to Italy.[258] Why should not Mitya come here, too? He ought to take a rest after all his work with the sick. Of course, you must invite him, too—we could go for some splendid walks together. If there are money difficulties, you must take the money Anya has in the bank. I hope I shall now earn a lot.

It would be fine if we could take a trip to the Italian lakes. They say it is excellent there in the late autumn. Anyuta will probably come and stay with you soon, so you can send Manyasha and Mitya.

I embrace you fondly, my dear, and wish you good health.

What is autumn in the country like? Here it is not bad.

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* The work referred to was Lenin's book *Materialism and Empirio-criticism*.—*Ed*.

The summer has been rotten, but now there are occasionally some real summer days.

All our people here are well and wish me to give you their best regards.

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

Sent from Geneva to Mikhnevo,
Serpukhov Uyezd, Moscow Gubernia

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the original

170

TO HIS SISTER ANNA

October 27, 1908

Dear Anyuta,

I am surprised at your long silence. I suppose the move to Moscow caused a lot of bother and you have had no time for letters.

Please give me an address to which I can send the manuscript of my book.* It is ready. It amounts to 24 printer's signatures (at the rate of 40,000 letters a signature) and that is about 400 pages. In a fortnight I shall have finished reading it over and will send it off; I should like to have a good address to send it to.

Things seem to be bad as far as a publisher is concerned; I was informed today that Granat has bought the Mensheviks' "history"—in other words the Mensheviks have come out on top in that field. It is obvious that he will now refuse to publish my book.[259] Bear in mind that I am not now chasing after royalties, i.e., I am prepared to make concessions (any you like) and agree to the postponement of payment until the book shows a profit—in short there will be no risk for the publisher. As regards the censor, I will also agree to *all* concessions because in general everything in the book is undoubtedly legal, with the possible exception of some expressions that may be unsuitable.**

I shall await an answer.

Our people all kiss Mother and you. So do I.

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

Sent from Geneva to Mikhnevo,
First published in 1929
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

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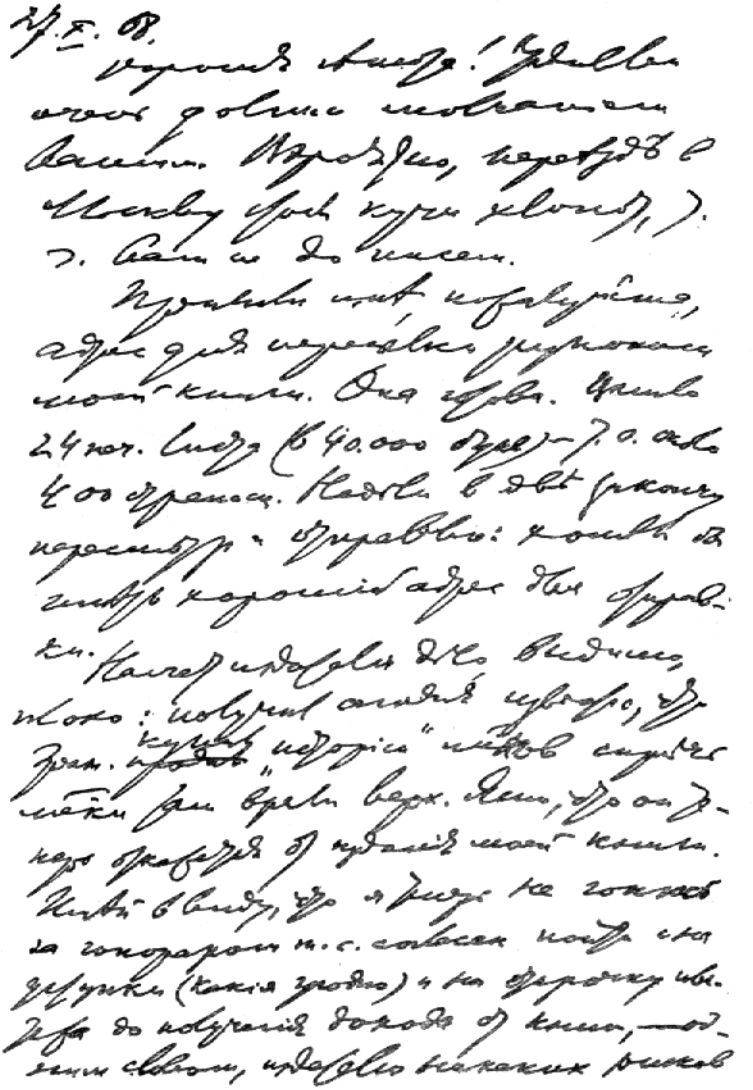
* *Materialism and Empirio-criticism.—Ed.*

** *Ergo*—conclude a contract if there is the slightest opportunity, on *any* terms.



The first page of Lenin's letter to his sister Anna, October 27, 1908

171

TO HIS SISTER ANNA

November 8, 1908

Dear Anyuta,

Today I received postcards from you and Mother with the new address. Did you get my letter addressed to Prosnya, 44,4? I am afraid to send a big manuscript to your private address or any other except that of some *publisher*. If you can find me such an address, I will send the manuscript *immediately*. In the meantime I shall await an answer to this letter. Incidentally, if the censor turns out to be *very* strict the word "*popovshchina*" can everywhere be changed to "fideism" with a footnote to explain it (*Fideism*. is a doctrine which substitutes faith for knowledge, or which generally attaches significance to faith).[260] This is for emergencies—it is to *explain* the nature of the concessions I am making.

All the best, many kisses for Mother.

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

Sent from Geneva to Moscow

First published in 1930 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 1

Printed from the original

172

TO HIS MOTHER

November 17, 1908

Mother dearest,

Manyasha has left today for Lausanne to consult Dr. Mermod, a distinguished specialist on ear troubles. He made the appointment in writing—you have to wait your turn to see famous people here. The general opinion, however, is that he is a competent doctor. Four years ago I had a minor operation in his clinic and it was done magnificently. So I hope he will be able to help Manya, because her ear is troubling her quite a lot and prevents her from working. She has taken a room on the same staircase as ours but a floor higher; a stove has been put in the room and it is warm there. She has dinner and supper with us. Her only trouble has been with her Latin. It seems that Latin is obligatory and the only date for an examination was November 19. This left her only ten days. I did try to persuade her to risk it, covering all the grammar in a "forced march", especially as she knows French very well. She proved unable to work intensively, however, on account of her ear; the time was, so short that she stood a poor chance anyway. And so she dropped the Latin. She consoles herself with the idea that we shall probably all be going to Paris and she, of course, with us. In Paris, Latin is not obligatory. As regards this move of ours—it is almost fully decided, but I do not expect we shall be able to make a move in less than a month from now. There will be more than enough bother with the moving, of course. We hope that a big city will put some life into us all; we are tired of

staying in this provincial backwater. It is true, of course, that Paris is more expensive. But the climate is no worse than that of Geneva. Here the climate is rather damp and the mists are unpleasant. We are going to find out what to do with the bicycles. It is a pity to leave them behind; they are excellent things for holidays and pleasure trips, but the duty on them there is, I believe, quite high, although I hope to be able to manage that, too. Please tell Anyuta that I have already sent my philosophical manuscript to the acquaintance who lived in the town where we met before my departure for Krasnoyarsk in 1900.[261] I hope that by now he has received it and delivered it to you. If he has not, you must go and see him since he does not live far from you. I ask you very earnestly to drop me a line immediately on receipt of the manuscript. I have written to two friends in St. Petersburg asking them to help me arrange publication.* I asked them to write to Anyuta, if anything turns up, through our mutual acquaintance who works at *Znaniye*.** I hope for very little from *Znaniye* itself; the "boss" there,*** who gave Anyuta a half promise, is an old fox and will probably go back on it after sniffing at the atmosphere on Capri, where Gorky lives. We shall have to look elsewhere. I have already written that I am prepared to make every concession.****

I embrace you fondly, my dear, and wish you good health.

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

Sent from Geneva to Moscow

First published in 1930 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 1

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* It is not known who is meant.—*Ed.*
** V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich.—*Ed.*
*** K. P. Pyatnitsky, manager of *Znaniye* Publishers.—*Ed.*
**** See Letter No. 171.—*Ed.*

173

TO HIS SISTER ANNA

November 26, 1908

Dear Anyuta,

I had just sent off a "distress" letter to you, when yours of November 9 arrived to tell me you had received the work intact. I agree that I have been rather nervous both about sending it off and while I have been waiting. I am simply scared to death of losing a huge piece of work that took many months and the delay really does put my nerves on edge. You did very well to ask for an answer by telegraph. If it is refused—it must be published immediately through Bonch. It seems you will not be able to get another publisher. Bonch publishes on credit, through someone else, somehow, and it is not very likely that I shall receive anything, but, anyway, publish it he will.[262] I have already written to two colleagues in St. Petersburg and will write again. Of course, if anything turns up for you, hand it over, and, in general take charge of it yourself, although by all accounts there is very little chance.

If there is no publisher, send it direct to Bonch immediately; the only thing is he must not give it to anybody to read and must look after it very carefully! Write to him about it.

I am sending two corrections, or rather one correction and one addition. On page 60 (at the end of the "Introduction"), following the words "Valentinov confuses them" (lines 9-10), cross out everything as far as "we" (the last line but one) and substitute this:

"Valentinov confuses them, and while doing so very

amusingly tries to console us: 'We would not consider the "kinship" of Mach to ... a philosophical crime'"* (etc., p. 61).

Please put that into the text.

The addition I am sending on a separate sheet which can easily be pasted in. This is a footnote to the *last word* of Section 5 (Chapter Five).[263] I have no copy of this chapter at home and so I cannot tell you the last word, but it doesn't matter.

All the best,

Yours,

V. Ulyanov

P.S. I am sending your letter to Manyasha in Paris. We have not yet had a letter from her from Paris.

P.S. Please repeat your address; Manyasha took it with her and I am writing from memory.

Sent from Geneva to Moscow

First published in 1930 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 1

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* This is how the lower half of p. 60 should read.

174

TO HIS MOTHER

December 10, 1908

Mother dearest,

Today we have at last settled up for the flat. Some of our things we are sending immediately by slow train. We are leaving on Saturday or on Monday at the latest. An apartment has been found for us—Avenue d'Orléans, 69 or 67, I will give you the exact address when I write from Paris.[264] You will now have to write to us through Manyasha. The apartment that has been taken is on the ground floor, three rooms, one for Manyasha.

I have just received a letter from Anyuta and have sent her a telegram: *acceptez immédiatement seconde condition.** I am very glad that you have managed things without *Znaniye* and I think you must hurry up and sign a contract on the second condition. The important thing now is not to lose time, to make sure that we have a publisher bound by a formal contract and then speed up publication. If it is possible the contract should contain a point on *immediate* publication. (If you can, haggle for a larger number of free copies for the author, but do not make an issue of it.) By the way—I advise Anya when she signs the contract to be careful, and not to give her own name if she can avoid it, so as not to be responsible under the press laws (and not go to prison in the event of trouble; she should get advice on this from people who know about such things). Can a contract not be drawn up in my name, so as to leave Anyuta out of it altogether, i.e., not even mention her?[265]

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* Accept the second condition immediately (Fr.).—*Ed.*

I have sent you two letters to the wrong address. They have probably not been delivered to you since you do not say a word about them. Perhaps it would be advisable to apply to the post office, attach the envelope from this letter to your application and point out that the writing is the same, that the letters are from the same city and addressed to M. A. Ulyanova or A. I. Yelizarova, and that the only mistake is in the name of the street. I wrote Khamovniki, *Sokolnichy* Street instead of Obolensky Street. Have you received those letters? If you have not, I will *repeat* the addition I sent in one of them.*

I am sending a few more minor changes to Chapter Five. Please send me the proofs as they come off the press (all to be addressed to Mlle M. Oulianoff, Boulevard St.-Marcel 27, Paris), so that I can take a look at them. If the worst comes to the worst I would, *entre nous*, agree to the first condition, but the second is so advantageous and the opportunity of publishing it immediately, and in Moscow at that, is so attractive that we must seize that opportunity with both hands. As far as the author's name is concerned, I do not insist—I don't care what name it is, let the publisher choose one himself.

I embrace you fondly, my dear, and send very best regards to Anyuta. So do we all.

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

Sent from Geneva to Moscow

First published in 1930 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 1

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* See Letter No. 173 and Note No. 263.—*Ed.*

175

TO HIS SISTER ANNA

Paris, December 19, 1908,

Dear Anyuta,

Today I received your letter redirected from Geneva and a postcard through Manyasha. And so everything is signed and sealed. Excellent. I wrote to you about corrections in the letter that was lost. I shall repeat them. *I agree* to toning it down in respect of Bazarov and Bogdanov; in respect of Yushkevich and Valentinov, it should not be toned down. With regard to "fideism", etc., I agree *only* if forced to, i.e., if the publisher's demands are in the form of an ultimatum. As far as the proofs are concerned, it is not my plan to have them read here and keep people waiting for them to come from here. That is hardly possible. All I ask is that you send me immediately impressions made from the galleys (i.e., the first uncorrected proofs *in addition to* the printed signatures as they come off the press) so that I can, if *really necessary*, send a telegram or inform them of misprints, etc. Cauwelaert's name really should be spelt with an "o" in Russian, although he is probably a Fleming and the devil alone knows how the Flemings pronounce it, "co" or "cau".

From Geneva I sent you a letter to the right address containing corrections and additions. Did you get it?

We are now moving from the hotel to our new apartment —Mr. Vl. Oulianoff, 24. Rue Beaunier, 24.* Paris (XIV-me). We have found a very nice apartment, very elegant and

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* *au deuxième au-dessus de l'entresol*, i.e., it would be *the third* floor, *porte à droite* (door on the right.—*Ed.*).

expensive: 840 francs+tax (about 60 francs) and+concierge (also about the same per annum). For Moscow it would be cheap (4 rooms+kitchen+storerooms, water and gas), but here it is considered expensive. However, it will be roomy and, we hope, good. Yesterday we bought furniture for Manyasha; ours is being sent from Geneva. The apartment is almost on the outskirts of Paris, in the south, near Montsouris Park. It is as quiet as a provincial town. It is very far from here to the centre but soon there will be a *métro*—an underground electric railway—a couple of steps from here; there are also other means of communication. So far we are satisfied with Paris.

All best wishes. Regards from all. Kiss Mother for me.

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

Leave Purishkevich as it is.* I agree to tone down other abuse, the same applies to vulgar expressions. "Mentally projected God" will have to be changed to "mentally projected for himself—well, to use a mild expression—religious conceptions" or something of the sort.**

Sent to Moscow
First published in 1930 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 1
Printed from the original

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* *Collected Works*, Vol. 14, p. 199.—*Ed.*
** *Ibid.*, p. 78.—*Ed.*

176

TO HIS SISTER ANNA

Rue Beaunier, 24,
Paris (XIV-me)

December 24, 1908

Dear Anyuta,

Today I received your letter about the proofs and hasten to scribble a few words, though I believe my last letter cleared up all misunderstandings. I never assumed and still do not assume that proofs would be sent here to be corrected—i.e., with your having to wait for the corrected proofs to be returned from here. I ask you to send me the proofs *just in case*, i.e., either so that I can point out the misprints and arrange for the most important corrections, or so that I can stop the printing by telegraph in an emergency, etc., or, lastly, so that I can have at least one printed copy by me in case of certain highly improbable happenings.

That is why I ask you to get two copies of the *first* (or of the second, or, better still, of the first and the second) proofs printed; one copy you will read while the other comes *straight* to me without anybody holding it up for anything. I think such a thing is *quite* possible for the publisher; I shall not cause the slightest delay unless it is absolutely necessary. If pulling off two copies involves any expense (which is hardly likely and there is no need for us to raise the question), I will bear it myself.

If you send the *first* proofs regularly, the delay will *never* amount to a week because in any case it takes several days to correct it completely and to print what has

been read (correction of the first proof; correction of the second proof; imposition; printing). The publisher is exaggerating when he talks about *a week's delay*.

By the way—I will give you a telegraphic form to be used in case of need right away. I shall write "*arrêtez* 12 or 65, etc.", *arrêtez* meaning "delay the printing", or "wait for author's corrections", and the two figures meaning, the first figure the chapter, and the second the section (12= Chapter One, Section 2; 65=Chapter Six, Section 5, etc.). I repeat that I shall do this only in extreme cases.

Instead of printing the chapter headings in heavy type it is better, if possible, to set them in small type or in italics. This, however, is not important.

Has one of my letters with addenda and minor changes gone astray? I see from your letter you received corrections and addenda* regarding E. Becher, but before this there was another letter containing corrections.

I am very, very glad that the matter is moving fast. That is the main thing.

All the best. Kiss Mother.

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

We all send regards. We have begun to settle down in Paris.

Sent to Moscow

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* *Collected Works*, Vol. 14, p. 290.—*Ed.*

1909

177

TO HIS SISTER ANNA

February 6, 1909

Dear Anyuta,

Yesterday I sent you a letter in which I said I had completely given up all hope of seeing the proofs and this morning the first of them arrived! I am sending you a list of misprints (in general there are not many) in case you need it; it would be interesting to know whether it will reach you quickly and be in time. I would rather not send the proofs themselves.

Коллекции instead of коллекцию (page 15, line 8 from the bottom of the manuscript; page 5, line 1 from the top of the galley).

Предположением instead of предположения (page 22, lines 3-4 from the bottom of the manuscript; page 7, lines 3-4 from the top of the galley).

Телесные instead of те лесные (page 28, lines 6-7 from the top of the manuscript; page 9, line 3 from the top of the galley).

Змоций instead of злюций (page 36, lines 3-4 from the bottom of the manuscript; page 10, line 2 from the bottom of the galley).[266]

That is all.

All the best, kiss Mother.

Yours,
V. U.

Regards from all. Manyasha and I are just leaving for the theatre to see a Russian play. They are doing Andreyev's *Days of Our Life*.

Sent from Paris to Moscow

First published in 1930 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 1

Printed from the original

178

TO HIS SISTER ANNA

Dear Anyuta,

Yesterday we sent you a telegram and got a reply today.[267] Manyasha has been and still is eager to leave at once, but I think she now agrees to wait for a letter. How is Mother now? I read Mitya's letter and *I ask him to write to us* regularly now; as a doctor he is better able to see, especially after consultations with specialists, what course the disease is taking and *I ask him especially* to inform us *more often*, even if only in a brief letter. Please farm out the proofs—it is absolutely heartless to plant them on you at such a time. You have the manuscript, so hire some student, etc., (or through the "writer"*, etc.) as the last proof-reader, give him my address and don't waste your attention on the correcting of proofs. You have enough to worry about without that.... Give Mother many, many kisses. Everyone sends very best regards.

Mark does not want to go until his time is up; he says times are such that he will not be allowed in the capital in any case.

All the best,
Yours,
V. Ulyanov

Written February 16 or 17, 1909
Sent from Paris to Moscow

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* I. I. Skvortsov-Stepanov, who rendered substantial assistance in getting *Materialism and Empirio-criticism* published.—*Ed.*

179

TO HIS SISTER ANNA

Dear Anyuta,

I am sending the corrections to the proofs I received today. I have received: (α) page proofs for pages 97-112; (β) galley proofs 81-97 (pp. 302-364 of the manuscript), not made up.

But between the first and the second there is something missing; the made-up pages end at page 274 of the manuscript (there are also pp. 274a, 274e) and the galleys begin at page 302. *This means that about 27 pages of the manuscript have been left out*! Does this not mean that a whole signature is missing? Could it have fallen out of the parcel? Or perhaps they forgot to send it or give it to you from the printer's? *Please* send me the proofs of the missing pages (pp. 274-302 of the MS) and, under all circumstances, take steps to ensure that they are not left out when the book is made up and printed. The missing part is *most* important for me and for my book.

Here is a description of the omission that is more accurate, according to the manuscript. The last words of the last made-up page, number 112, are "These active forces must". In the manuscript this will be page 274, or 274a or 274b. The gap comes after these words. The missing part is from page 274a to page 302, to the words "Let us continue the quotation from Bazarov" inclusive, that is, to the third line from the top inclusive. That is the exact size of the gap.[268]

There is one other mistake, or rather not a mistake but something in the galleys that may lead to a mistake when they are made up into pages; *seventeen* lines from the bot-

tom of galley No. 88, beginning from "гелем" (page 14 of the 4th German edition), etc. (page 338 of the manuscript) must be transferred *to the foot* of galley *No. 89*.

In other words the words "Religious experience" (line 18 from the bottom of galley No. 88, line 6 from the top of page 334 of the manuscript) are followed by "гелем" (p. 14, etc.), i.e., page 338, line 7 from the top. This must be watched carefully to make sure that there is no mistake when the pages are made up.

Please give the last proofs (and your correspondence with me) to someone *who knows languages* and pay him. Let Mitya take *one hundred rubles*, go to the "writer" and *hire** either the writer himself, or somebody he recommends for the work, to read the final proofs and get in touch with me. This *must* be done because you now have no time for proofs, *of course*, and will only worry yourself to death. *Will you please do as I ask immediately.*

Yesterday I wrote to you and Manyasha did, too. Give Mother many kisses. "*Un peu mieux*" is very indefinite...[269] Write.

All the best,

Yours,

V. U.

P.S. Please send me the part *that already has been printed* immediately; I will make a list of the misprints. This is very important because we shall be able to correct some things even after the book has been printed.**

Written February 17 or 18, 1909
Sent from Paris to Moscow

First published in 1930
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 1

Printed from the original

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* It will take two or three hours.

** There follows, in the original, a list of the misprints.—*Ed.*

180

TO HIS SISTER ANNA

Dear Anyuta,

Yesterday I received your letter with a postscript from dear Mother. Manyasha and all of us were awfully glad. Manyasha was more lively today and went out walking with Mark—today is *mardi gras*,[270] and the French are on the rampage. Give Mother many kisses from me and from all of us—we all fervently hope that she will now get better without any setbacks.

Today I received the proofs of signatures 8 and 9 (pp. 113-144) already made up into pages and was very pleased to see that there are no gaps and no mixed galleys (which I wrote about last time *before I had seen* the proofs of the made-up pages; by the way, you send the packages without any string, and single pages and even whole signatures may easily fall out).

The proofs of these two signatures are, on the whole, quite good, and that gives me great pleasure. I still cannot risk withdrawing my request to give the proofs to a professional proof-reader (about which I wrote in the last letter), because I am afraid you will find it difficult to devote time to such boring work during Mother's illness and to concentrate your attention on it.

I am sending the corrections to the page proofs of signatures 8 and 9 (pp. 113-144). When they begin to print the signatures, please send them to me from the first) so that

I can draw up a list of misprints that must be pointed out, even if only on a sheet pasted separately into the book.

All the best, and kiss Mother once more.

Yours,
*V. Ulyanov**

Written February 23, 1909
Sent from Paris to Moscow

First published in 1930
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 1

Printed from the original

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* There follows, in the original, a list of the misprints.—*Ed.*

181

TO HIS SISTER ANNA

Anna Ilyinichna Yelizarova,
Boldyrev's House, Apt. 30,
Obolensky Street, 5/7,
Khamovniki,
Moscow,
Russia

March 2, 1909

Dear Anyuta,

Your letter and Mitya's have reached me here—many thanks for them. I wrote to you from Paris that the last proofs were excellent. If Mother is better and you are not too tired I shall not, of course, insist that you pass on the proofs to someone else. But are you not too worn out? I was glad to learn from Mitya's letter that Mother is better! At last—she must have had a rough time. Please send proofs as before, not only the page proofs, but the galley proofs as well (it does not matter if I correct them an extra time; the fewer mistakes the better). Please send the printed signatures at once to Paris, too.

I am taking a holiday in Nice. The place is wonderful—sunny, warm, dry and a southern sea. I am returning to Paris in a few days.

I embrace Mother fondly and send best regards to all.

Yours,
V. U.

Sent from Nice

First published in 1930
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 1

Printed from
the original

182

TO HIS SISTER ANNA

March 9, 1909

Dear Anyuta,

I arrived in Paris yesterday evening (after a splendid holiday in Nice) and read your letter of the 16th.

I am sending corrections to signatures 10 and 11 of the made-up pages. Only two are of importance. The title of Bogdanov's book is *Empirio-monism* and not *Empirio-criticism*. This misprint *must* be given special prominence in the list of errata if it is too late to correct it* (I do not know whether you received my postcard from Nice—I sent two from there—in which I mentioned this misprint). The other is on page 170, line 9 from the top—in the quotation from Plekhanov the word "*эту*" is unnecessary.

As regards giving the proofs to someone else—you are right, of course, to take all the necessary steps, because it would have been extremely difficult to combine such painstaking and tedious work with the job of nursing Mother. I can only express my amazement that the last proofs could be exemplary under such working conditions.

It is most important to me to get the book out as quickly as possible. There has been a very great delay. It will be unfortunate if it does not come out by March 15 (O.S.)! As far as breach of contract is concerned, I don't know whether you can make a claim. I doubt it. And is it worth while spoiling relations with the publisher irrevocably? It is not.

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* The misprint was corrected in a list of errata at the back of the book.—*Ed*.

Is the absence of proofs in recent days due partially to your having stopped sending them on account of my trip? I hope that, and not a delay in setting and printing, is the reason. Please send everything now.

I see from Mitya's letter that Mother's health is improving. At last! Many kisses for Mother and very best regards to all.

Yours,
V. U.

P.S. Please do not tone down the places against Bogdanov and against Lunacharsky's *popovshchina*. We have *completely broken off* relations with them. There is no reason for toning them down, it is not worth the trouble.

P.S. Give the "writer" a *thousand* thanks for consenting to help. It seems, after all, he is a real *Marxist* and not a "Marxist for an hour" like some others. Immediately present him with a copy of my book in my name.*

Sent from Paris to Moscow

First published in 1930 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 1

Printed from the original

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* There follows, in the original, a list of the misprints.—*Ed.*

183

TO HIS SISTER ANNA

March 12, 1909

Dear Anyuta,

Today I received the clean proofs of signatures 1-9 and 13—"clean" because they are on good paper and have apparently already been printed, although they have a stamp at the top of each signature (put on by the printer) saying "proof", which I do not understand.

Whatever the case may be, whether they are proofs or whether they are copies of signatures already printed, I must say that the jumbled paragraphs have been completely corrected and that, *in general*, these clean proofs are thoroughly satisfactory. I am now thinking of one thing and one thing only and I beg you—*speed up* the issue of the book. Things have now been properly organised, the proofs are excellent, but hurry, hurry, at all costs, for there has already been a devilishly long, an impossible delay. If, therefore, there is anything whatsoever hindering you, you must immediately hire an assistant proof-reader (if you have not yet done so).

I am sending a list of misprints that *have not been corrected* but which were pointed out in my previous corrections; this list is only for signatures 6-9 and for signature 13 (I will send the list relating to the first live signatures tomorrow or the day after because I have given the proofs to someone and must ask for them back).

These misprints absolutely must be shown in a list of errata at the end or the beginning of the book because there *are some* that distort the meaning. On the whole there are

so few misprints that *under no circumstances* must the book be delayed on account of them.

I have not seen signatures 10, 11 and 12 (pp. 145-192) made up into pages; for this reason I shall send the list of misprints for those signatures separately. I am heading them exactly—list of misprints for *such-and-such* made-up printer's signatures. The book *must* be published without waiting for my last list of misprints but with this present list printed under the heading of *errata*.

The most important—p. 126, line 16 from the top

All the best; kiss Mother for me.

Yours,
V. U.

P.S. *Please* do not tone down *anything* in the places against Bogdanov, *Lunacharsky* and Co. They must not be toned down. You have deleted the passage about Chernov being a "more honest" opponent than they, which is a great pity. The shade of meaning you have given it is not the one I want. There is now no overall consistency in my accusations. The crux of the issue is that our Machists are *dishonest*, mean-spirited, cowardly enemies of Marxism in philosophy.*[271]

Sent from Paris to Moscow

First published in 1930 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 1

Printed from the original

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* There follows, in the original, a list of the misprints.—*Ed.*

184

TO HIS SISTER ANNA

March 21, 1909

Dear Anyuta,

As you probably know from the newspapers there is a post office strike going on here.[272] Complete irregularity. I am not getting the proofs (I have received nothing since the page proofs of signature 13).

In any case I am sending this by registered post and ask you to send a *registered reply too*.

(1) I am sending a list of misprints in signatures 1-5.

(2) I am sending a correction to p. 630 of the MS.*

(3) Please include this in the *errata*; footnote at the beginning of Section 6 of Chapter Three (i.e., the section on freedom and necessity)—instead of "not only a smile" read "not a smile, but disgust".

This is an essential correction and if it is not made my idea will be distorted; I do not see anything funny in flirting with religion, but I see a lot that is disgusting.

I have already written about not, under any circumstances, toning down the passages against Bogdanov and Lunacharsky in the second half of the book and hope you have received the letters. Especially—do *not* throw out "Purishkevich" and the others in the section on the criticism of Kantianism!

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* This correction has been lost.—*Ed*.

I have received a postcard from Mark. How is Mother's convalescence progressing? Give her many kisses for me. We are all well and send regards.

Yours,
V. U.

March 22, 1909—today there is news of the end of the post office strike. Nevertheless I am sending this by registered post and ask you to answer also by registered post—just in case!*

Sent from Paris to Moscow
First published in 1930
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 1

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the original

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* There follows, in the original, a list of the misprints.—*Ed.*

185

TO HIS SISTER ANNA

Dear Anyuta,

I have just received your registered letter of March 7. Many thanks!

We were very glad to get the news that dear Mother is better and has begun to got up. I send her all my love.

How is Mark? Is there any news from him?

The strike here has finally come to an end. At last! An excellent proletarian affair was seriously interfering with our literary affairs....

I still have not received your proofs and the made-up pages. I have seen the clean proofs of signatures 1-9 (pp. 1-144) and signature 13 (pp. 193-208) only. I have not seen any proofs after Section 6 of Chapter Three (the beginning).

The postman, to be sure, gives us hope—the *sacs de Russie* that were not opened during the strike will be opened and delivered today or tomorrow. I am afraid to hope!

Nevertheless I am very, very glad that there is progress, that signatures 19 and 20 have now been made up and the end must he near. It has been a great strain on my nerves waiting for this long drawn-out book.

I am sending an addendum. Do not hold up the book for it. But if there is time, let them print it in different type (in smaller type, for instance) at the very end of the

book. I regard it as extremely important to counterpose Chernyshevsky to the Machists.*

I agree, of course, to 50 copies being placed at your disposal.

Best regards,
Yours,
V. Ul.

Written March 23 or 24, 1909
Sent from Paris to Moscow

First published in 1930
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 1

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the original

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* *Collected Works*, Vol. 14, pp. 359-61.—*Ed.*

186

TO HIS SISTER ANNA

March 26, 1909

Dear Anyuta,

Today I received the page proofs of signatures 15-18 and am sending you a list of misprints that *must* be given on a separate sheet at the end or at the beginning of the book.

I have received *only* signatures 1-9 and 13 of the "clean" proofs, i.e., *probably* those that have been printed (although they bear what seems to be a strange stamp, "Proof"). Please send me the remainder of the "clean" proofs, i.e., those already printed.

Write and tell me when you expect the book to be out. Many kisses for Mother.

Yours,
*V. U.**

Sent from Paris to Moscow
First published in 1930
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 1

Printed from
the original

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* There follows, in the original, a list of the misprints.—*Ed.*

187

TO HIS SISTER ANNA

April 5, 1909

Dear Anyuta,

Yesterday I received the made-up pages of signatures 14-20 (pp. 209-320) which I already have (the only page proofs I have not now received is signature 10, i.e., pp. 177-192) and today I got galleys 226-234 (pp. 784-809 of the MS).

I am sending the misprints in signature 14 (pp. 209-224) —the misprints in the other signatures have already been sent—and corrections to the galleys. Actually there is one important correction here; in galley 234 (end of the first paragraph in Section 7 "on a Russian 'idealist physicist'") —page 809 of the manuscript—the words "materialist and thinker, Professor V. I. Vernadsky" have been set. This completely distorts the meaning. It should read "natural scientist and thinker", etc.[273]

If it is too late to correct it, there absolutely must be a notice of this misprint on a separate sheet since it distorts the meaning.

In answer to your question "where to put pages 802a and 802b and where are they? They are not in the manuscript"—those pages were sent separately (from Geneva) and they must be placed as a footnote to the word "object" on line 7 in the paragraph (in Section 6) that begins with the words "Rey became muddled because" (this is galley 232 and page 802 of the manuscript).*

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* The footnote was included (*Collected Works*, Vol. 14, p. 297). —*Ed.*

In any case (i.e., in case these specially sent addenda* did not reach you) I am sending them again. You *must not*, of course, delay the book on account of them. It seems that the book is "delaying itself" sickeningly at the publisher's ... *ad infinitum*. Obviously it will not come out before Easter!...

Very best regards. I send Mother kisses and hope you will both soon be in the Crimea.

Yours,
*V. U.***

Sent from Paris to Moscow
First published in 1930
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 1

Printed from the original

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* I have a copy of that addendum (footnote to p. 802) written on a single page with another addendum (end of Section 7, p. 812 of the MS). They have probably both been lost and I am repeating them both. The printing of the book must *not* be delayed for *either* of them.

** There follows, in the original, a list of the misprints.—*Ed.*

188

TO HIS SISTER ANNA

April 6, 1909

Dear Anyuta,

Yesterday I sent you a letter containing the misprints in signature 14 and two addenda. I hope you have received them.

This morning I received *clean* proofs of signatures 10, 11 and 12 and the page proofs of signature 21.

I am sending the misprints that *must* be printed in the book in a special list of errata.

It is a great pity that I have to send the misprints in small doses (see P.S.); I am afraid that some of the separate pages containing lists of misprints may get lost. Perhaps you will paste them together as you receive them and give them to the printer all at once?

As far as money is concerned—please send it on to me all at once (I am now in need of money); it is best done through the bank, specifically, through the *Crédit Lyonnais*. To prevent the people here from charging too much for the exchange it is best to buy francs in Moscow and send the exact sum to the Crédit Lyonnais in Paris, Agence Z, Avenue d'Orléans, 19, addressed to Mr. W. Oulianoff, current account No. *6420*.

This is the most convenient way. It is no use trusting to a messenger; by the method I have described you have only to keep the receipt, there is no need to send any cheques.

I hope, from the bottom of my heart, that Mother will soon manage to get out of Moscow. Mother absolutely must rest and take a holiday in the Crimea. Many, many kisses for her, regards to all.

Yours,
V. U.

P.S. I have now sent lists of misprints for *all the 21 signatures*—1-18 signatures of the clean proofs and 19-21 of the page proofs. Please check up whether you have all these lists of misprints and let us know. I will repeat them if any have been lost.*

Sent from Paris to Moscow

First published in 1930 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 1

Printed from the original

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* There follows, in the original, a list of the misprints.—*Ed.*

189

TO HIS SISTER ANNA

April 8, 1909

Dear Anyuta,

Today I received the page proofs of signature 22 pp. 337-352). There are very few misprints in it. I am sending a list of them.*

In connection with the publication of the book I have two important requests to make of you.

(1) The experience of the previous month shows that the publisher and printer are capable of delaying the remaining four of five signatures for a long, long time, but it is *hellishly* important to me for the book to appear sooner. I have not only literary but also serious political commitments that are linked up with the publication of the book.[274] I therefore beg you to engage an assistant for yourself (or for the "writer", if you hand it over to him) to pay special visits to the printers and keep urging them along. It is not difficult, of course, to find a student for about fifteen rubles a week—there will be crowds of candidates for such a post. Offer him a bonus** of some twenty rubles if the book comes out by April 10,*** He will visit the printer, take the

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* The list has been lost.—*Ed.*

** Obviously you cannot handle the Russian blockhead without a bribe. Give the make-up man 10 rubles if the book comes out by April 10—you must bring pressure to bear on the printer *in addition to* the publisher.

*** Lenin gave this date in the Old Style; the letter itself is dated in the New Style.—*Ed.*

proofs from there, bring them back corrected *without delay*, will follow up the work *day by day*, etc. I do not grudge 100 rubles for this. You must do this or tell the "writer" to do it, for it will be *the end of me* if the book is delayed until the second half of April.

(2) I have now sent you the misprints in all the 22 signatures. Let them set a list of those misprints *immediately* and send me a proof; there will be time enough and it is very important to me because the book must be well produced.

All the best,
Yours,
V. U.

Many kisses for Mother!

Sent from Paris to Moscow
First published in 1930
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 1

Printed from
the original

190

TO HIS MOTHER

May 21, 1909

Mother dearest,

A big merci for your letter of April 25. We were all greatly pleased to learn that you are staying in the Crimea and at last having a fairly decent holiday. This is how matters stand with Manyasha. She has put her name down for the examinations[275] and is now zealously swotting. We have to wait for the results—in a few weeks it will be known whether she will finish her examinations successfully. I have no doubt that she will, for she works very conscientiously. She is now quite well. Now and again we drag her out for walks—not long ago we took her to the forest at Clamart, a few versts from Paris, where the air is wonderful.

The best thing, of course, would be for her to stay here for another winter and for all of us to live together. We shall have to try to arrange that as soon as the examinations are over. We are going for a holiday in the summer (somewhere near the end of June or the beginning of July, I think) —we shall take her along with us—and then in the autumn she will wait for you here and in Paris we shall all be beautifully provided for.

I embrace you fondly, my dear, and hope you have a good holiday. We here are all well and send regards.

Yours,
V. U.

P.S. Best regards to Anyuta. I have received the book.[276] It has been beautifully published—but everyone grumbles at the price (2 rubles 60 kopeks), but that, apparently, is the publisher's fault.

Sent from Paris to Alupka (Crimea)

First published in 1929
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from
the original

191

LENIN AND KRUPSKAYA TO LENIN'S SISTER ANNA

May 26, 1909

Dear Anyuta,

I received your letter a few days after I had sent a letter to Mother in Alupka.

I have received the book and find that it has been nicely published. There were no fewer misprints at the end than at the beginning and the proof-reader's ignorance of foreign languages is obvious (the English "A New Name for Old Ways of Thinking"* has been so distorted that it is ridiculous),[277] but that is an inevitable and insignificant shortcoming. On the whole I am satisfied with it. Everyone complains of the price—and rightly so. In future we shall have a point in the contract about the price as well as the number of copies. I was hard pressed by the publisher and would, in any case, have agreed to *any* terms, as long as the book was published,

The publisher has not yet sent any money and I am beginning to be afraid that he will swindle us.[278] I have written to Peres. Will you also please write to the publisher—three or four weeks have passed and he promised to pay in a week. (You absolutely must get a promissory note for the remaining sum.) Please send me the five hundred rubles that are in the bank (Crédit Lyonnais, Agence Z, Avenue d'Orléans, 19. Mr. Oulianoff. Current account No. 6420) since I cannot rely on the publisher.

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* Stepanov apparently did not look at it at all....

Things are bad here—*Spaltung*,* or rather, there will be one; I hope that in a month or six weeks I shall be able to give you exact information. So far I can do no more than guess.[279]

Manyasha is swotting hard. She is quite well and will probably pass her examinations. What will happen then I do not know. I think she wants to go home.

We have not yet decided when we shall go to the seaside or where we shall go.[280] But this summer we shall go for certain.

Many kisses for Mother and all the best to you.

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

Dear Anya,

You asked in your last letter why I do not write. All this winter I have been in a state of utter melancholy, the time has been frittered away, I could not work properly and so I was in no fit state to write. If Manyasha had not written about Volodya and Volodya about her I should have given you all the details about them both as I did before, but apart from that there is nothing to write, we are just jogging along. Every time they wrote I told them to give you my regards but I don't suppose they did. I shall try and write soon, but in the meantime I send many kisses to you and to dear Maria Alexandrovna from myself and from Mother.

Yours,
Nadya

Sent from Paris to Alupka (Crimea)

First published in 1930 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 1

Printed from the original

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* Split (Ger.).—*Ed.*

192
TO HIS BROTHER

Dear Mitya,

Manyasha has already written to you about her illness. I also want your advice. The doctor has diagnosed that she has inflammation of the gut projecting from the caecum (that's appendicitis, isn't it?). I asked a very good local surgeon and he confirmed it. He advises an operation. Everyone says it is not dangerous and effects a radical cure.

The surgeon (Dr. Dubouchez) is praised by everybody. He recently performed an operation (the same one) on the wife of a friend—it was excellent, a teaspoonful of blood, in eight days she began to get about. The hospital is a good one.

The attacks are not very bad now. There is no high temperature. The pains are not great. Please answer me *immediately*—I am in favour of an operation but am afraid to take the risk without your advice. *Answer immediately*.

There is no doubt that they perform good operations here. The doctor does not advise her to travel before the operation.

I shall not write to Mother because I am afraid of frightening her for no good reason. There is no danger, Manyasha does not even stay in bed all the time. Nor shall I write to Anyuta because Mother may read it.

Please write to Mark and through him to Anyuta (if you can do it without scaring Mother). It will probably be better not to write to the Crimea at all because they will get frightened.

And so I await an answer; here they advise us to get the operation done quickly. Do you also?

All the best,
Yours,
V. Ulyanov

Address: Mr. Wl. Oulianoff. 24. Rue Beaunier. 24. Paris (XIV). France.

Written in late June-early July, 1909
Sent to Mikhnevo, Serpukhov Uyezd, Moscow Gubernia

First published in 1929 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from the original

193

TO HIS MOTHER

July 19, 1909

Dear Mother,

Today I received your picture postcard of the Crimea (the postcard was enclosed in an envelope with a corner cut off; this greatly surprised us—did you do it or the local post office?).

You ask about money for Manyasha. I answered your last letter, but not immediately (we were moving to a new apartment at the time), so that your postcard and my letter crossed in the post.

I offered Manyasha some money since I have some. She refused absolutely to take it; she said she did not need it and showed me the 70 francs she had.

We are going to Brittany for our holiday, probably next Saturday. Y. V. has already gone there. Manyasha is recovering rapidly; now I can tell you everything that *happened*—she *had* appendicitis, that is, inflammation of the gut projecting from the caecum. If the disease is caught in time it is not at all dangerous and can be completely cured by an operation. After consulting Mitya and the best doctors here, we decided on an immediate operation. We put Manyasha into a surgical hospital for a week (it was a *very* good hospital). The operation was *very successful*; Manyasha came out of hospital in a week and has been at home for three days. She now walks and eats everything. She is convalescing rapidly. She felt better as soon as the appendix was removed. She will be able to travel by rail at the end of the week and we are thinking of leaving for Brittany together.

And there is *nothing to worry about*, It is a good thing that Manyasha had her operation here because the surgeons here are excellent. Chronic appendicitis would still be troubling her and would trouble her for a long time if she had not had the operation. Now she is quite well.

I embrace you fondly, my dear, and wish you good health. Do not be angry with me for not having written about Manyasha immediately.

Yours,
V. U.

P.S. Regards from all.

My address: Mr. Wl. Oulianoff. 4. Rue Marie Rose. 4. *Paris*. XIV.

Sent from Paris to Alupka (Crimea)

First published in 1929
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from
the original

194

TO HIS MOTHER

August 24, 1909

Mother dearest,

I received your letter yesterday and am answering by return of post. There is no need at all for you to worry about Manyasha. She is convalescing splendidly. She can't, of course, walk about much yet; she still has some pain in her leg (the right one). We asked the doctors in Paris and here in the country whether that was a bad sign. They all say "no". They say she is convalescing well, if somewhat slowly. They advise Manyasha to wear a bandage so that the scar is not shaken so much when she walks. Yesterday she walked five or six versts, slept excellently afterwards and feels quite well. Generally speaking, she looks *incomparably* better, she has a good appetite, sleeps well and looks perfectly healthy. In short—I am being *quite frank*—everything is going well although rather slowly, probably because of the great fatigue she experienced in winter. We are having a good holiday here. We have been here three weeks and expect to be here another two, or perhaps three. I cannot yet say whether Manyasha will be able to travel to Russia in a month's time. She has recovered very considerably during her three weeks' holiday. I advise her to drink as much milk as she can and to eat curds and whey. She prepares the curds and whey herself, but in my opinion she is not feeding herself up enough; I am always quarreling with her on those grounds.

Our rooms here are good, and the board is good and not expensive (10 francs a day for the four of us). Nadya and I often go cycling.

I embrace you fondly, my dear, and wish you good health.

Yours,
V. U.

We all send our regards.

P.S. What news is there from Mark? Has he completely recovered from his operation? Give him regards from all of us.

Sent from Bombon (France)
to Sinelnikovo,
Yekaterinoslav Gubernia

First published in 1930
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 1

Printed from
the original

195

TO HIS MOTHER

October 25, 1909

Mother dearest,

A few days ago I received a letter from you and Anyuta and also the money sent from the publisher. *Merci*. Today I got a note from Manyasha, who writes that she wants to take a cure. I also got the book (*Kriticheskoye Obozreniye*) she sent.

Manyasha writes that you are still living in furnished rooms. That must be extremely inconvenient. It will be a good thing if you can soon move into the flat you found with the aid of your acquaintances.

Mitya will probably visit you in Moscow when he hears of Manyasha's arrival. I should like him to drop me a line telling me how he finds Manyasha and which doctor (or doctors) he wishes to consult about her.

There are no changes here. We are all well and send our regards. After wonderful weather, during the first half of October, real autumn has begun. I embrace you fondly, my dear, and send my best regards to all.

Yours,
V. U.

Sent from Paris to Moscow

First published
in the Fourth Edition
of the *Collected Works*

Printed from
the original

196

TO HIS MOTHER

Her Excellency Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova,
Davydov's House, Apt. 4,
Bozheninsky Street,
Devichye Polye,
Moscow,
Russia

November 4, 1909

Mother dearest,

A few days ago I received Manyasha's letter with the new address. How are things in the new apartment? Is it warm there? Our apartment with central heating has turned out to be too warm—although it may be because of the warm weather we are having here. Manyasha did right to go to a competent doctor—she must now follow his advice exactly.

I have received *Rossiya*.[281] Many thanks. I have also had word from the historian—he must be a very narrow person. It is a pity that he intends writing nonsense! It seems as if we shall have to give him up for lost.[282]

I am leaving for Brussels tomorrow[283] and shall stay there a few days. I have written an answer to Anyuta in Saratov on the assumption that she is already there.

I embrace you fondly, my dear, and send very best regards to Manyasha and Mitya. So does everybody.

Yours,
V. U.

Sent from Paris

First published in 1929
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from
the original

197

TO HIS SISTER MARIA

Maria Ilyinichna Ulyanova,
Davydov's House, Apt. 4,
Bozheninsky Street,
Devichye Polye,
Moscow,
Russia

Dear Manyasha,

Today I received an issue of *Utro Rossii* with the vulgar nonsense about Gorky.[284] For some days now a number of newspapers in Paris (*L'Éclair*) and in Berlin (*Berliner Tageblatt*)[285] have been engaged in similar lies. Some days ago there was a good refutation of this mass of lies in *Vorwärts*, where it was very correctly demonstrated and very wittily explained that this is all one big nonsensical invention. Some fool heard rumours he did not understand and got everything wrong—scraps he had picked up about otzovism, the school, philosophy and so on. *Utro Rossii* must be a shady little rag to have cooked up an "interview" just for the sake of sensation. Today *Rech* is also engaged in the fabrication of similar scandal. The Cadets are happy to have something to lie and talk scandal about.

How are you? How is Mother? I have had no news from you for quite a while. Write and let me know how you are getting on, what you are doing, and how Mitya is. There have been no changes here. Winter is beginning—I go to

the library. The apartment is warm. Y. V. is feeling rather poorly. Nadya is zealously studying French.

All the best, kiss Mother many, many times.

Yours,
V. U.

P.S. Did you get the reply to the historian? With regard to my books at Sablino[286]—*if the opportunity occurs*, it would be fine to ask one of our St. Petersburg friends to send them to me here, if not all of them, then at least what there is of Marx and Engels and the best of the classics.

Written December 3 or 4, 1909
Sent from Paris

First published in 1929
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from
the original

198

TO HIS MOTHER

Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova,
Davydov's House, Apt. 4,
Bozheninsky Street,
Devichye Polye,
Moscow,
Russia

Mother dearest,

I have received your letter and Manya's. A big *merci* for them. Today I received a second letter from Manyasha with the pleasant news that there is no need for me to write to our acquaintance a second time. I am worried that your apartment is so cold; what will it be like in winter if the temperature is only 12° now? You must not catch cold.... Is there nothing you can do? Perhaps you should put in a small stove. That is often done here (we do not need it because we have steam heating and it is *very* warm), and we did it in Siberia. So far there has been no great cold, here, at any rate, but the winter is still to come.

I am very, very grateful to Manyasha for the news. If she should have an opportunity I should very much like her to obtain for me the new Moscow agricultural statistics (1907-09) and to find out (even from a shop) how much *Izvestiya zemleustroitelnykh komissii* costs; I cannot get this publication through acquaintances and I need it.

I embrace you fondly, my dear, and hope you are keeping well. Best regards to Manyasha from me and from all of us here.

Yours,
V. U.

Written December 7 or 8, 1909
Sent from Paris

First published in 1929
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

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the original

199

TO HIS SISTER MARIA

Maria Ilyinichna Ulyanova,
Davydov's House, Apt. 4,
Bozheninsky Street,
Devichye Polye,
Moscow,
Russia

Dear Manyasha,

I recently learned, quite by accident, that there is to be a congress of statisticians in Moscow at Christmas—or rather one of the sections of the congress of doctors and naturalists will be congress of statisticians.[287] I have already heard the names of a couple of acquaintances who will be there (one from Moscow, the other from the provinces), and no doubt there will be more than two acquaintances there. It is extremely important to take advantage of this to get me the Zemstvo statistical publications. I urge you to try to find at least one statistician of your acquaintance at the congress and give him my address and my request to send me Zemstvo statistical publications: (1) on peasant and landowner farms—especially current statistics and house-to-house censuses; (2) handicraftsmen and industry; (3) on the law of November 9, 1906[288] and on the acquisition of commune lands by peasants. I think you may give my address direct. If they say that they cannot send them abroad, please give your address and I will send you the money, so that you can send the statistics on to me. They are absolutely essential to me. If it will be of any use I can write a brief appeal to the statisticians (I am sending one for you to use at your own discretion),[289] so that statisticians of your acquaintance can distribute

it (or show it) to those from other towns, adding their own request (or *trying to get* consent) to send the publications.

Drop me a line if you find someone who can do it. If you do not, I shall write to you again.

The publication I wrote about last time is not called *Izvestiya zemleustroitelnykh komissii* (although I have heard that *such* a publication exists *too*) but *Izvestiya Zemskogo Otdela* (Ministry of the Interior). Is there any civil servant of your acquaintance who can acquire this work?

All the best to you, kiss Mother.

Yours,
V. U.

Written December 10 or 11, 1909
Sent from Paris

First published in 1929
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from
the original

1910

200

TO HIS SISTER MARIA

Her Excellency Maria Ilyinichna Ulyanova,
Davydov's House, Apt. 4,
Bozheninsky Street,
Devichye Polye,
Moscow,
Russia

January 2, 1910

Dear Manyasha,

Today I received Mother's letter (to Nadya and me) with your postscript. I am very, very glad that you have made quite good arrangements and that Mother is pleased that there is no housekeeping for her to do. Let us hope that the end of winter will not disappoint us. Up to now the winter here has been more like spring than winter. Today, for instance, has been a real spring day, sunny, dry and warm, and Nadya and I took advantage of it for a wonderful morning excursion to the Bois do Boulogne. In general we have made good use of the holidays—we have been to museums, the theatre and the *Musée Grévin*,[290] which gave us much pleasure. This evening I intend to go to an estaminet to listen to a "*goguette révolutionnaire*"* by "songsters" (an unhappy translation of *chansonniers*). I am sorry I did not make use of my jawing with Frenchmen in summer to study French pronunciation *systematically*—now that I have got some books on phonetics I can see how weak I am.

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* A revolutionary entertainment (Fr.).—*Ed.*

Please read the enclosed letter and pass it on to Fyodor Odessky—he did not give me any other address. You ought to read the letter to know what I want. I have received the Moscow City Statistics, for which I am grateful. Please send me the three issues of Moscow City Statistics on the *elections* to the First, Second and Third Dumas. I have also received a letter about statistics from Ryazan—it is splendid that I shall probably be getting help from many people.

All the best, do not run around so much, rest more and keep well. Regards to Mitya. I embrace and kiss Mother. *Happy New Year!*

Yours,
V. U.

Sent from Paris

First published in 1929 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from the original

201

TO HIS SISTER MARIA

Dear Manyasha,

I have received your postcard—*merci* for the news. As far as the bicycle is concerned I thought I should soon receive the money, but matters have dragged on. I have a suit pending and hope to win it. I was riding from Juvisy[291] when a motorcar ran into me and smashed my bicycle (I managed to jump off). People helped me take the number and acted as witnesses. I have found out who the owner of the car is (a viscount, the devil take him!) and now I have taken him to court (through a lawyer). I should not be riding now, anyway, it is too cold (although it's a good winter, wonderful for walks).

I am enclosing the exact names of two books on land allotment that I need very badly. Have you managed to find anyone who can get them?

All the very best. Kiss Mother for me. Does she find it very cold in the new flat?

Yours,
V. U.

(1) *Obzor deyatelnosti Glavnogo upravleniya zemleustroistva i zemledeliya za 1907 i 1908*. St. Petersburg, 1909.

(2) *Obzor deyatelnosti uyezdnykh zemleustroitelnykh komissii (1907-8 gg)*.

I am not sure whether these are two different books or one and the same.[292]

If there are two, the second is the more important for me.

(3) *Yezhegodnik Glavnogo upravleniya zemleustroistva i zemledeliya*. St. Petersburg, 1908.

Written in early January 1910
Sent from Paris to Moscow

First published in 1929
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

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the original

202

TO HIS SISTER MARIA

Maria Ilyinichna Ulyanova,
Davydov's House, Apt, 4,
Bozheninsky Street,
Devichye Polye,
Moscow,
Russia

January 12, 1910

Dear Manyasha,

I have just received your letter and hasten to scribble an answer because I am afraid I shall be busy for the next few days.[293] I will try to get some information about the man in German Switzerland. If this is needed in a hurry let me know exactly when I must find him by, so that the organisers can begin looking for him themselves (in the event of my not finding him).

I have received the statistics. A big *merci*!

Give Anyuta very best regards from me. Mark, too.

I embrace Mother fondly and hope she is well.

How are you? What is the winter like? It is warm here. I have begun to pay more attention to the theatre; I have seen Bourget's new play *La barricade*. Reactionary but interesting.

All the best,

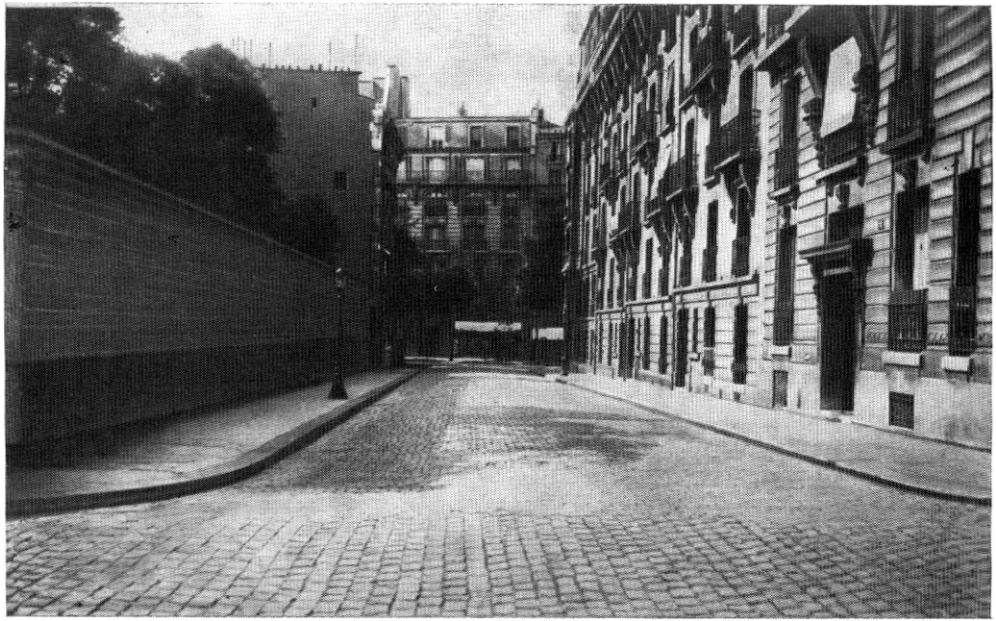
Yours,

V. U.

Sent from Paris

First published in 1929 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from the original



View of Rue Marie Rose (Paris)
Lenin lived in House No. 4 from 1909 to 1912

203

TO HIS SISTER MARIA

Maria Ilyinichna Ulyanova,
Davydov's House, Apt. 4,
Bozheninsky Street,
Devichye Polye,
Moscow,
Russia

Dear Manyasha,

I received your letter a few days ago and have been intending all the time to answer it. I have recently been very busy with urgent work and have not had a single hour to spare. I have also received the historian's letter and will answer it (if you have an opportunity tell him that), but cannot do so at the moment (immediately).

I have had a letter from Mitya and was extremely surprised at the news of his accident.[294] He says he is getting better and will soon start learning to walk. Please write and tell me how he is convalescing. Has he lost his job or is it still open and will it remain open until he has fully recovered? When he has recovered will he be able to cover his territory as before?

You do not write anything about Anyuta and I have not received anything from her for a long time. Does she like the new town?*

How is Mother keeping now? Has she recovered from her influenza?

We have had—and they still continue—floods in Paris such as have not been known for a long time. You have

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* Anyuta was in Saratov at the time.—*Ed.*

probably read about it in the newspapers. I managed to get as far as, the Seine on two occasions (horse buses are running reduced services, the metro and the trains are at a standstill). The resultant "Venice in Paris" is a truly strange sight. Many people are out of work. There will probably be all sorts of accidents, houses collapsing, etc. when the water subsides.

We are living quietly, no changes. Nadya runs around to all the schools that teach French and is zealously pushing ahead. My bicycle case ended in my favour.* I have received the Moscow City Statistics—a big *merci*.

Give Mother many kisses for me, Best regards from all.

Yours,
V. U.

Excuse me for writing so scrappily. My attention is being distracted.

Written January 30 or 31, 1910
Sent from Paris

First published in 1929
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from
the original

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* See Letter No. 201.—*Ed.*

204

TO HIS SISTER ANNA

Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova,
Davydov's House, Apt. 4,
Bozheninsky Street,
Devichye Polye,
Moscow

Dear Anyuta,

We have been having "stormy" times lately, but they have ended with an attempt at peace with the Mensheviks—yes, yes, strange as it may seem; we have closed down the factional newspaper and are trying harder to promote *unity*.* We shall see whether it can be done.... I have only just managed to get rid of a lot of urgent business arising out of these changes.

Paris is a rotten hole in many respects.... I am still unable to adapt myself *fully* to it (after living *here* for a year!) but I nevertheless feel that only extraordinary circumstances could drive me back to Geneva!

Written February 1, 1910
Sent from Paris

First published in 1930
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 4

Printed from a copy
(made by the police)

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* This is a reference to the January (1910) Plenum of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P.—*Ed*.

205

TO HIS BROTHER

February 13, 1910

Dear Mitya,

It is quite a while since I received your letter (and later *Niva* with the problem[295]) and, I am ashamed to say, I have kept putting off answering. How goes the convalescence? I hope that doctors are cautious and do not allow themselves to start work until they have fully recovered. I have often thought of the danger of accidents when I have been riding my bicycle through the centre of Paris, where the traffic is simply hellish. But to fall out like you did, in the country and in the middle of winter! It must have been a pretty wild horse and you were probably driving hell for leather, eh?

Drop me a line to let me know whether you have recovered. Anyuta wrote that there is a hope of the leg mending (completely or not? Will you be able to ride a bicycle?) but not the shoulder. Is that true? I cannot quite believe that it is absolutely impossible to mend a broken shoulder-blade. You must start a proper course of treatment and keep it up until you are completely cured.

With regard to Manyasha—I think it would be good for her to have a longer rest in summer. Mother says the same, but is afraid she will not be able to drag her out.... She should, however.

Life here goes on as usual. We live a quiet life. The weather is fine and I intend to start cycling again since I have

won the case and should soon get my money from the owner of the car.

All the best. Get better soon and properly. We all send regards.

Yours,
V. U.

Sent from Paris to Mikhnevo,
Serpukhov Uyezd, Moscow Gubernia

First published in 1929
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from
the original

206

TO HIS MOTHER

February 13, 1910

Mother dearest,

A few days ago I received letters from you and Anyuta. A big, big *merci* for them. I have now completed the affairs that obliged me to answer Manyasha too briefly and hurriedly (I shall soon be writing to her).

I received the chessmen[296] a long time ago—I simply forgot to mention them. I have so few opportunities to play here that I have probably forgotten everything.

I was very pleased to learn that you are satisfied with your flat and with the landlady, and that you are better and have begun to go out. It would be good if you could get out of Moscow earlier in spring and go to somewhere on the Volga or to the country. It is sure to be unpleasant in Moscow in spring.

We are having wonderful weather. The water in the Seine is still high but the floods are rapidly subsiding; they have caused tremendous damage (our part of the city was not touched at all).

I had a short letter from Mitya with the news that he is recovering. I am angry with myself for not having found time to answer him. It seems, indeed, that the Paris streets with their devilish traffic are not the only places where it is dangerous to ride....

I sometimes see Avgusta Pavlovna here. Her relatives are in Moscow—do you ever see them? She is very nice.

I embrace you fondly, my dear, and hope you keep well.

Yours,
V. U.

Best regards from all.

Sent from Paris to Moscow

First published in 1930 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 4

Printed from a copy (made by the police)

207

TO HIS BROTHER

February 17, 1910

Dear Mitya,

I have received your problem* and got quite "worked up" about chess—I had forgotten literally everything. It must be a year since I played and, in general, during the past few years I have only played a few lightning or very rapid games. I solved your problem easily—R(Q 8)—Q6. But I saw a problem in *Rech* today that I could not solve at once and which I liked very much (the issue of February 1 No. 31. (1269), study No. 195). This is the position.

White: K(KKt3), Kt(KKt1), B(K7), P(KR5), P(Q3)

Black: K(K6), P(KR2), P(Q4), P(QR7) (i.e., the last pawn is within one move of becoming a queen). White to play and win. Beautiful bit of work!

How goes the convalescence? Are the leg and the shoulder both better? Will you soon start walking and driving again?

All the best,

Yours,

V. U.

Sent from Paris to Mikhnevo,
Serpukhov Uyezd, Moscow Gubernia

First published in 1931
in Lenin's *Letters to Relatives*

Printed from
the original

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* See Letter No. 205.—*Ed.*

208

TO HIS MOTHER

April 10, 1910

Mother dearest,

I hope you will receive this letter by April 11 congratulate you on the occasion of your name day, and Manyasha as well. A really big hug for you both.

I received your letter with the new address a day or two ago, and shortly before that I received a letter from Mitya. I did not know that your old apartment was so far from the centre. An hour's tram journey is awful! I have to travel half an hour by tram from here to the library* and I find even that too tiring. To travel every day an hour each way-that is quite impossible. It is a good thing that you have found an apartment near the Zemstvo offices.** But is the air breathable in such places? Isn't it too dusty and stuffy? Many thanks for the letter to the historian; he has been answered.

It would be simply wonderful for us to get together in August, provided the journey will not tire you too much. From Moscow to St. Petersburg you must book a sleeper, and from there to Åbo as well. The steamer *Bure* from Åbo to Stockholm is well equipped; it is in the open sea only two or three hours and in fine weather it is *like sailing down a river*. You can buy return tickets from St. Petersburg. If the railway journey does not tire you too greatly

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* This was the Bibliothéque nationale, where Lenin usually worked in Paris.—*Ed*.

** Lenin's sister Maria was at that time working at the Moscow Gubernia Zemstvo.—*Ed*.

you will be able to spend a marvellous week in Stockholm!

We still have not decided whether to take a place in the country for the summer. We are wavering—is it better to live *en pension* as we did last year to give Nadya and Y. V. a *complete* rest, or to take a cottage where we should have to do our own cooking, which Y. V. finds very tiring?

It is spring here. I have already got Nadya's bicycle out. We are just longing to be out walking or cycling. Love and kisses. Keep well. Very best regards to Manyasha.

Yours,
V. U.

Sent from Paris to Moscow

First published in 1929
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from
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209

LENIN AND KRUPSKAYA TO LENIN'S SISTER ANNA

May 2, 1910

Dear Anyuta,

Yesterday I received your letter with the new address. *Merci* for the congratulations. There is no change at all here. Nadya is feeling rather poorly—her nerves are still not quite in order, although by and large we are all well. I have been cycling for some time and I often go for rides in the country round Paris, especially as we live quite near the *fortifications*, i.e., near the city boundary. We have not yet decided anything about our summer holidays; the summer here is a late one and it is possible we shall again go to Bombon, where there is a cheap boarding-house and complete quiet, although Nadya does not seem inclined to go there again. Perhaps this time we will try the socialist colony at the seaside.* Y. V. was there last year and liked it.

Give my best regards to the neighbour at Alakayevka** if you manage to see him. It is a pity that he is such a convinced enemy of correspondence because it would be pleasant to have some news, if only rarely, from "the heart of Russia" about what is going on in the new village. There is little information on this subject and it would be very pleasant just to have a chat with some knowledgeable person.

Regards to the North Manchurian*** also. How is he getting fixed up now, and will he rid himself of the "weakness" of the Russians ... and not only of writers?...

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* See Letter No. 213.—*Ed.*

** A. A. Preobrazhensky.—*Ed.*

*** A. P. Sklyarenko.—*Ed.*

With regard to my grudge against the doctor* (whom you asked me to do something to help) you were quite wrong, or perhaps I accidentally said something tactless. I have never had and still do not have the slightest grudge against him. He makes a good impression. We never got to know each other closely. Now he has moved out of town, where the children will be better off. He is in very poor circumstances; he has only just managed to find some *temporary* work for the tiniest imaginable emolument. I very seldom see him. The émigrés here are very poor.

My work is going extremely badly. I hope to get over this period of intense squabbling[297] and will then return to my work.

All the best. Regards to Mark. Best wishes from all.

Yours,
V. U.

Dear Anya,

I received your letter about our acquaintance a long time ago and answered it immediately in a letter to Manyasha. I have certain reasons for thinking that my letter was lost, although Manyasha answered one of the questions raised in it. I asked her to write and say whether she had received that letter but she hasn't written. The acquaintance to whom you asked me to show the letter is not here now and, furthermore, what I wrote to you was not said to him but to another person. I will write in detail in a few days. Many kisses. Regards to M. T. Mother sends regards.

N. K.

Sent from Paris to Saratov

First published in 1930 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 4

Printed from the original

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* M. F. Vladimirsky.—*Ed.*

FROM MARX TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

210

TO HIS MOTHER[298]

Dmitry Ilyich Ulyanov,
Mikhnevo Station,
Ryazan-Urals Railway,
Moscow,
Russia

June 18, 1910

Mother dearest,

Greetings to you, Anyuta and Mitya from our Sunday excursion. Nadya and I are cycling. Meudon Forest is a good place and close by, 45 minutes from Paris,[299] I have received and answered Anyuta's letter. A big hug from myself and Nadya.

Yours,
V. U.

Sent from Meudon (France)

First published in 1931
in Lenin's *Letters to Relatives*

Printed from
the original

211

TO HIS SISTER MARIA

M. I. U. c/o Savelyev,
Private Cottage,
Inonniemi, Terijoki Station,
Finland Railway,
Finland, Russia

June 18, 1910

Dear Manyasha,

Greetings from me and Nadya. We are on an outing in Meudon Forest. Marvellous! I received your letter (the big one) in the evening of the day I sent you my letter. And so everything has been received. We shall write and send you the latest books.

*Salut et fraternité.**

Yours,
V. U.

Sent from Meudon (France)
First published in 1929
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from the original

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* A form of greeting used during the French Revolution.—*Ed.*

212

TO HIS MOTHER

Dr. Dmitry Ilyich Ulyanov,
Mikhnevo Station,
Ryazan-Urals Railway,
Moscow,
Russia

July 1, 1910

Mother dearest,

Best regards from Naples. I arrived here by steamer from Marseilles—cheap and pleasant. It was like travelling on the Volga. I am going to Capri from here for a brief visit.*

Love and kisses. Regards to all.

Yours,
V. U.

Sent from Naples (Italy)

First published in 1931
in Lenin's *Letters to Relatives*

Printed from
the original

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* Lenin went to Capri (Italy) to visit Maxim Gorky.—*Ed.*

213

TO HIS SISTER MARIA

M. I. U. c/o V. A. Savelyev,
Private Cottage,
Inonniemi, Terijoki Station,
Finland Railway,
Finland, Russia

July 28, 1910

Dear Manyasha,

I am writing this in Pornic*. I have been living here almost a week with Y. V. and Nadya. We are having an excellent holiday. We go bathing, etc. How are you getting on? Is Mother keeping well? How does the question of Copenhagen and Stockholm Stand?** Write to Pornic (Loire Inférieure). Rue Mon Désir. K. Los Roses. Mr. Oulianoff.

Regards to all,

Yours,

V. U.

I wrote to Mother in Mikhnevo a week ago from Paris. Did she get the letter?

Sent from Pornic (France)

First published in 1929 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from the original

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* See N. K. Krupskaya, *Reminiscences of Lenin*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1959, pp. 209-10 for details of their stay at Pornic.—*Ed.*

** This refers to the projected trip by Lenin's mother and his sister Maria to meet him in Stockholm.—*Ed.*

214

TO HIS MOTHER

Her Excellency Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova,
Yekaterina Lesonen's Cottage,
Leppenenö, Terijoki Station,
Finland Railway,
Finland via Stockholm

September 4, 1910

Mother dearest,

Hearty greetings to you and Anyuta from Copenhagen. The Congress ended yesterday.[300] I have made full arrangements with Manyasha; on September 4 (Old Style), i.e., September 17 (New Style), I shall be waiting for you on the wharf in Stockholm.* A comrade in Stockholm will rent for me two rooms for the week September 17-24. Manyasha has my present address. Write to me in Stockholm Hr. Ulianof, Poste Restante. I embrace you fondly.

Hoping to see you soon.

Yours,
V. U.

I shall be here until September 15, 1910.

Sent from Copenhagen

First published in 1929 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from the original

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* After attending the 8th Congress of the Second International in Copenhagen, Lenin went to Stockholm to meet his mother and his younger sister Maria.—*Ed.*

1911

215

TO HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW

January 3, 1911

Dear M. T.,

Many thanks for your letter. One feels so cut off here that your stories of impressions and observations of the Volga (how I miss the Volga!) are manna from heaven. Your observations are of the greatest interest because they tell me about the various people you meet in the way of business and on journeys and because you made them without any preconceived aim. I was also very pleased to get your letter in the summer and I am very much at fault for not having found time to answer it, but that was because of moving from the seaside to Paris and from Paris to Copenhagen and Stockholm.

As regards my trip to Italy—it seems that it will not come off now (or in the near future). Finances (Anya asked me about them, by the way) do not permit it. I have not found a publisher.[301] I sent an article to *Sovremenny Mir*,[302] but apparently there are difficulties there, too; several weeks have passed and there has been no answer. Long journeys will have to be put off until better times. It is, of course, only a stone's throw from here to Italy and you simply must pay a visit to Paris if you intend going to Italy. I suppose it is not for nothing that people say that if you have once been to Paris you will be drawn to it again.

Manyasha would certainly do better to take a longer rest in Saratov and not hurry off anywhere, it would be better in all respects.

Life here goes on as usual. Very little that is pleasant. The recent period has been so "squabblesome" that I must ask you to forgive me for unpunctuality in correspondence;

I have not answered Anyuta, who told me of the unsuccessful talks with Lvovich,[303] and I have not written to Mother for a long time. Now at least you have almost the entire family gathered together, so please make my excuses, give my best regards to Anya and Manyasha and kiss Mother many times.

All the best,
Yours,
V. U.

In Stockholm Mother told me about your fight with your boss. Since funds have gone up you must have won! Congratulations! Get rid of everything unpleasant!

Happy New Year! A Happy New Year to *everyone*!

Yesterday I received *Zvezda* No. 1 from Russia and today *Mysl* No. 1.[304] That is something to cheer me up! I hope you have seen it! It really is a pleasure!

Sent from Paris to Saratov

First published in 1930 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 4

Printed from the original

216

TO HIS MOTHER

Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova,
Pankratyevskaya Street, 7, Apt. 5
Saratov,
Russia

January 19, 1911

Mother dearest,

We have just received your letter. Nadya thanks you very much for it and sends her regards. As for me, I am hurrying to correct the misunderstanding which, it seems, I was the unwitting cause of. Please do not send me any money. I am not now in need. I wrote that neither my book nor my article had been accepted—that was in one of my recent letters. But in the last letter I wrote that they say that my article will be accepted. I have written to Gorky* about the book and hope for a favourable reply. In any case my situation is not *now* any worse; at the moment I am not in need, I beg you, my dear, not to send anything and not to try to save anything from your pension. If things get bad I will write quite frankly, but at the moment they are not. It is not easy to find a publisher, but I shall keep on seeking—furthermore, I continue to receive the "salary"[305] I told you about in Stockholm. So please do not worry.

Nadya has written twice to Manyasha and will write today for the third time.** Does Manyasha get the letters

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* *Collected Works*, Vol. 34, p. 439.—*Ed.*

** For purposes of secrecy Krupskaya wrote the letters in invisible ink.—*Ed.*

I am very glad that Mitya sends good news about his transfer.* Best regards to Mark and Anyuta from all of us here.

We are all quite well. No changes to report. Yesterday I delivered a lecture here on Tolstoi—I shall perhaps deliver the lecture in several Swiss towns.**

The weather here is not bad. Dry and cold (our apartment is very warm) and it is pleasant out walking.

I embrace you fondly, my dear, and hope you keep well.

Yours,
V. U.

P.S. Tanya's mother in Moscow has been taken ill.***

Sent from Paris

First published in 1930 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 4

Printed from the original

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* Lenin's brother Dmitry was to be transferred to Feodosia as public health officer.—*Ed.*

** Lenin did not go to Switzerland to lecture on Tolstoi.—*Ed.*

*** This refers to the arrest of S. N. Smidovich, a close friend of the Ulyanov family.—*Ed.*

217

TO HIS MOTHER

April 8, 1911

Mother dearest,

You will probably receive this letter on the Russian April 1. On the occasion of your name day I congratulate you and Manyasha. I hope you will soon be well—completely recovered. Today I saw the doctor*—the father of Anyuta's "godson"—and he says that after an attack of lumbago you have to take great care of yourself to prevent a relapse. By the way—his wife and children intend coming to Russia, but for the summer they want to go to the country.

I received your letter describing life in Saratov and expressing some ideas about Manyasha, my dear. Do not worry in advance, perhaps things may turn out quite differently from what you imagine by the time summer is over.

Where are you thinking of spending the summer? In Saratov itself? Is it a good place for the summer?

For a week we have had real winter weather here, snow and frost. Now there has been a new turn to spring. Y. V. caught cold in the frosty weather and is in bed. In general everything goes on as usual, we are leading a quiet life. Unfortunately there is little news from Manyasha. How does she feel? Best regards to her and to everybody. I embrace you fondly, my dear, and hope you keep well.

Yours,
V. Ul.

Sent from Paris to Saratov

First published in 1929 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from the original

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* M. F. Vladimirsky.—*Ed.*

218

TO HIS MOTHER

Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova,
Kupp's House,
Gogolevskaya Street,
Berdyansk,
Tavrida Gubernia,
Russia

Mother dearest,

Nadya and I send greetings to you and everyone. We have come here for a whole day.

Yours,
V. U.

Written August 20, 1911
Sent from Fontainebleau (France)

First published in 1930
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 4

Printed from
the original

219

TO HIS SISTER MARIA

M. I. c/o Vasily Alexandrovich Savelyev,
Private Cottage,
Inonniemi, Terijoki Station,
Finland Railway,
Finland via Stockholm

Dear Manyasha,

Nadya and I send you hikers' greeting—we have come here for a whole day.

Salut chalereux!*

Yours,
V. U.

Written August 20, 1911
Sent from Fontainebleau (France)

First published in 1929
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from the original

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* Hearty greetings! (Fr.).—*Ed.*

220

TO HIS MOTHER

Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova,
Ugodnikovskaya Street, 26,
Yelizarov's Apartment,
Saratov,
Russia

Mother dearest,

I am writing from Lucerne. I came to Switzerland quite unexpectedly (on account of the meeting of the International Socialist Bureau in Zürich).[306] I am travelling round lecturing.[307] Yesterday I went out climbing on the Pilatus—nearly 7,000 feet. The weather is wonderful so far and I am having an excellent holiday. I embrace you fondly and send very best regards to everyone.

Yours,
V. U.

Written September 28, 1911
Sent from Lucerne (Switzerland)

First published in 1929
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from
the original

1912

221

TO HIS MOTHER

Her Excellency Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova,
Ugodnikovskaya Street, 26,
Saratov,
Russia

Mother dearest,

A few days ago we received another present from you, fish, caviare and smoked sturgeon fillets. A big *merci*. We are greatly enjoying these dainties and thinking of the Volga as we eat them. You really have been plying us with dainties from home this year!

How are you getting on? To judge by the newspapers it is cold and snowing where you are. It is spring here. A week ago I got my bicycle out again and went to the Bois des Verrières (that is where Manyasha went) and brought back some bursting willow buds. I went there again today with Nadya—the cherries are already in bloom. We are having spring weather but it's not reliable, there is a lot of rain.

Where are you off to in summer? Y. V. thinks of going to Russia but I do not expect she will. We are thinking of sending her to friends of ours in Arcachon in the south of France.

Are you all well? I embrace you fondly, my dear. Best regards to Anyuta, Manyasha and Mark and also to Mitya.

Yours,
V. U.

Nadya and Y. V. send best regards.

Written March 8 or 9, 1912
Sent from Paris

First published in 1930
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 4

Printed from
the original

222

TO HIS SISTER ANNA

Anna Ilyinichna Yelizarova,
Ugodnikovskaya Street, 26,
Saratov

I have been sitting at home lately working on a translation* and have seen little of what is going on in Paris. Among our people here, by the way, there is more bickering and abuse of each other than there has been for a long time—there probably never has been so much before. All the groups and sub-groups have joined forces against the last conference and those who organised it so that matters even went as far as fisticuffs at meetings here.[308]

In short, there is so little here that is interesting or even pleasant that it's not worth writing.

Written March 24, 1912
Sent from Paris

First published in 1930 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 4

Printed from a typewritten copy (made by the police)

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* It is not known which translation Lenin refers to.—*Ed.*

223

TO HIS MOTHER

April 7, 1912

Mother dearest,

You will probably receive this letter about April 1 (Old Style). I congratulate you and Manyasha on the occasion of your name day; I embrace you fondly and wish you. everything of the best.

What is spring on the Volga like this year? Are you all keeping well? I have got into the habit of looking every day in *Rech* to see what the weather, in Saratov is like and I see that it is still cold.

It seems that we are having an early spring here this year. Some days ago I again went cycling in the woods—the fruit trees in the orchards are all covered in white, "as though bathed in milk", and such a wonderful perfume—a really delightful spring! It is a pity I cycled alone; Nadya has caught cold, has lost her voice and has to stay at home.

In summer we intend going to Fontenay, near Paris, and are thinking of moving there altogether.[309] Paris is expensive, rents have gone up. Besides, it will probably be healthier and quieter in the suburbs. I want to go and look for something soon.

We expected a long letter from Manyasha, but did not get one. I am sending her a prospectus, all that I could find. How are Mark and Anya keeping? What news is there from Mitya?

Again many kisses and best regards to all.

Yours,
V. U.

Sent from Paris to Saratov

First published in 1930 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 4

Printed from the original

224

TO HIS MOTHER

May 27, 1912

Mother dearest,

I returned to Paris yesterday from a short business trip[310] and found your letter with the bad news about Anya and Manyasha.[311] I am sure they will not be able to hold them long because the absurdity of such an arrest is obvious. Things have come to such a pass that they say straight out to Anyuta "Not for long!" In the provinces today they probably pick up people for no reason at all, "just in case".

Have you any acquaintances, my dear? Does anybody visit you? Sudden loneliness is the worst thing that can happen at such times. Do you get letters and news from Mitya and Mark?

Have you any acquaintances in St. Petersburg? It would be a good idea to write to them, if there are any, and tell them about what has happened, perhaps they can get some information. Sometimes the provincial administration is overzealous, especially now, after May Day.

I embrace you fondly, my dear, and hope you keep well and active.

Yours,
V. U.

P.S. We have not yet decided what to do for the summer. It isn't hot yet.

Sent from Paris to Saratov

First published in 1930 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 4

Printed from the original

225

TO HIS MOTHER

June 2, 1912

Mother dearest,

A few days ago I wrote to you about the arrest of Manyasha and Anyuta. There is something else I want to talk to you about. I am afraid you must feel very lonely now. I asked in my last letter whether any acquaintances visit you but I could not have received an answer to that letter yet.

I read in a St. Petersburg newspaper today about the large number of arrests and house searches that have been made in connection with the case of the railwaymen[312] in Saratov. They seem to be picking up people left and right.... I don't know whether you have yet managed to get any news of Manya and Anyuta. You will probably be seeing Anyuta soon, because when they arrested her they said it would not be for long. If the arrests are on a very big scale, however, it may take some time simply to sort out all the people who have been arrested.

Please drop me a line, my dear, to let me know if you are well, how you are feeling, and if there is any news and whether you have any acquaintances in Saratov. Perhaps you will feel a little less miserable if we write to one another more often.

There are no changes here. Yesterday we undertook an excursion to the Parc de St. Cloud, but we had bad luck—

it rained. The weather in general is not hot and we have not yet decided anything about summer.

Nadya and Yel. Vas. send you many kisses and wish you good health and good spirits. So do I and embrace you, my dear.

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

Sent from Paris to Saratov

First published in 1930 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 4

Printed from the original

226

TO HIS MOTHER

July 1, 1912

Mother dearest,

I received your letter about the trip up the Volga and the Kama and your new address. I must give you a new address, too. This summer we have moved a long way from Paris—to Krakow. Almost in Russia! Even the Jews are like Russians and the Russian frontier is 8 versts away (the journey by train from Granice to here takes two hours, from Warsaw 9 hours), the women go barefoot and wear brightly-coloured clothes, exactly as in Russia. My address here is:

Herrn Wl. Ulijanow,
Zwierzyniec, L. 218,
Krakau, Oesterreich.

I wish you and Anyuta a good holiday and a pleasant journey up the Volga. The hot weather is beginning and it must be good to be on the river.

With regard to Manyasha—it is to be hoped that after what they told you they will not be able to hold her very long.

Regards to Mark!

Please send me Mitya's address, my dear.

Getting settled here is taking up a lot of our time. For the summer we are living out of town, near a summer resort called "Salwator". We cannot yet speak Polish. Many difficulties and much bother.

Y. V. is ill. Looks like pneumonia.

I embrace you fondly, my dear; give Anya my very best regards.

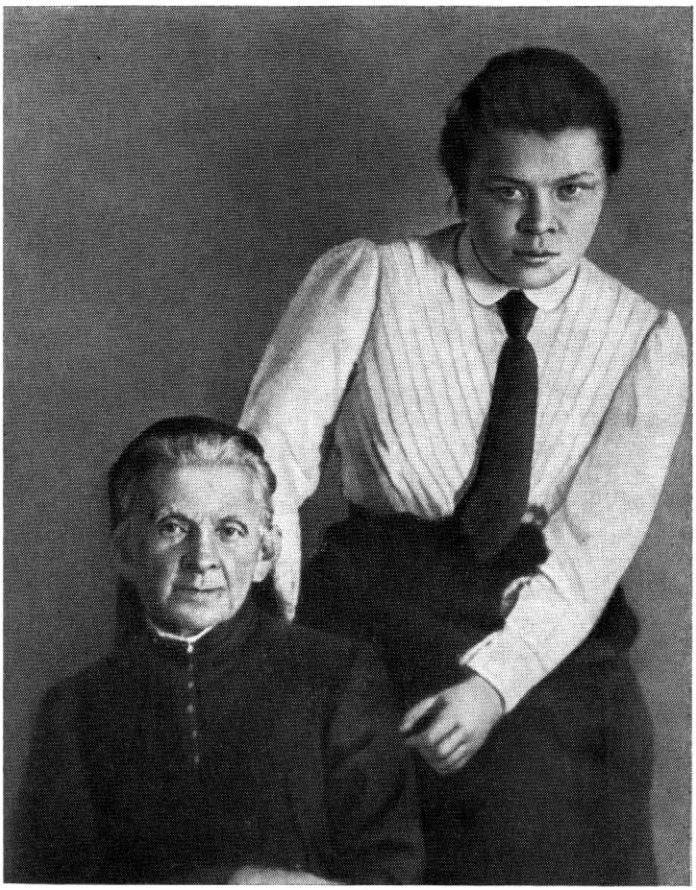
Y. V. and N. K. send regards and embrace you.

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

Sent to Saratov

First published in the Fourth Edition of the *Collected Works*

Printed from the original



Lenin's mother and sister Maria
1913

227

TO HIS SISTER MARIA

Dear Manyasha,

Many thanks for the photographs* and the letter. At long last! How are you feeling now?

I am not surprised that you have chosen the north,[313] I would probably have done the same myself. I hope that they will not send you too far away—there are some nasty places there. Please write as soon as you arrive.

We have been having a lot of trouble during the past few days and so I could not answer you immediately.

This place is full of rumours of war, as, by the way, you can see from the papers. If there is a war I shall probably have to move to Vienna (or to that town where I last saw you).** But I do not believe there will be a war.

I kiss you fondly, my dear. So do Y. V. and Nadya.

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

P.S. Write and tell me whether you will be receiving *Neue Zeit*.

Written at the end of November 1912
Sent from Krakow to Saratov

First published in 1929
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from the original

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* Lenin received photographs of his mother and his two sisters.—*Ed.*

** Lenin here refers to his meeting with his mother and sister in Stockholm in September 1910.—*Ed.*

228

TO HIS SISTER ANNA

Dear Anyuta,

I was very glad to hear from you. Your hand must have been very painful for a long time—your writing is still weak.

Here we feel much better than we did in Paris—our nerves are at rest and there is more literary work and less squabbling. I hope it will be easier for us to meet, too—as long as there is no war; I do not greatly believe there will be one.

I receive very occasional news from Gorky, who is now less unfriendly in his attitude towards us than he was.

How are Mark and Mitya?

Give Mother many, many kisses from me.

Here we are having wonderful autumn weather, and we go out a lot.

Material conditions are so far bearable but not very reliable.... If anything happens I will write to you.

All the best and excuse the hurry.

Yours,
V. U.

P.S. Y. V. and Nadya ask me to send their regards and kisses. Both are well.

Written in the autumn of 1912
Sent from Krakow to Saratov

First published in 1930
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 4

Printed from
the original

229

TO HIS MOTHER

Mother dearest,

Please excuse me for the delay in answering your last letter; I have already received a second. Nadya will write you in detail about our way of life.*

We still have no news of Manyasha. Send her Nadya's letter and mine if they are of interest to her.

I do not think you need worry about her; Vologda is better than Astrakhan as far as climate is concerned (infectious diseases are worse and more dangerous in Astrakhan); she will make friends with people. After all, the town is not far from Petersburg and Moscow. The St. Petersburg papers probably arrive only a day late.

It is difficult to arrange for any translation work; some contact must be established with *publishers* in Moscow or St. Petersburg. Nadya suggests what I think is a good idea—write to the Sabashnikovs.** Perhaps Anyuta will also write to Krumbügel (if it is possible), etc. I, alas, have no contacts with publishers.

How is it that Mark is so often ill? That's no good! He should take a rest in summer, for instance, in the mountains—four hours' journey from here there is Zakopane, they say it is a wonderful place in the mountains.

We are not thinking of moving; unless the war chases us away, but I do not greatly believe in the war. We shall wait and see.

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* The letter has been lost.—*Ed.*

** The Sabashnikov Bros., publishers.—*Ed.*

Best regards to Mitya and Anyuta. How is her finger? It is time it was cured!

I embrace you fondly, my dear, and hope you keep well.

Yours,
V. Ul.

Written December 21 or 22, 1912
Sent from Krakow to Saratov

First published in 1930
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 4

Printed from
the original

230

TO HIS SISTER MARIA

Her Excellency Maria Ilyinichna Ulyanova,
Poste Restante,
Vologda,
Russia

Dear Manyasha,

At last a brief note from you, very brief, it is true, has reached me. Write and tell me how you have settled down, whether you have made any friends, and whether there is any possibility of your finding work. Have the local authorities kept their promise not to prevent your looking for a job?*

I recently received a letter from Mother who tells me that Mark came back from St. Petersburg ill. Why is he so poorly these days? What was he like when you left—was he, on the whole, well?

I suppose you are now suffering from "prison anaemia", or rather from a worsening of your former anaemia. You ought to do something about it—go skating, for instance. That is something you must do, so do not neglect it! There is slush where I am now, but last year, when I found myself in a "cold" place, I immediately found a skating rink and had a go to see whether I had forgotten how to skate.

There are now great difficulties in the way of getting translations from French and German because of the copy-

* Lenin's sister was banished to Vologda.—*Ed.*

right convention. In this place, unfortunately, I am cut off from all contact with publishers. You should write to St. Petersburg or Moscow, if you have any acquaintances there, and try to find out from the publishers how they stand; translation is the best form of employment and quite a large number of translated books are published. Write and tell me what the prospects are.

Y. V. and Nadya are very anxious to send regards.

All the best,

Yours,

V. Ul.

Written December 24 or 25, 1912
Sent from Krakow

First published in 1929
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from
the original

231

TO HIS SISTER MARIA

Maria Ilyinichna Ulyanova,
c/o Gorokhova,
Muromtsev's House,
Kazanskaya Square,
Vologda,
Russia

December 28, 1912

I have received the letter with your address, dear Manyasha, and hasten to reply. Did you get the letter I sent you Poste Restante?

We could probably arrange to send you the journal *Gleichheit*,[314] which is published fortnightly. It is merely a matter of whether the censor will allow it. Try to find out—or should we just send it?

When do you receive the St. Petersburg newspapers? A day late or later?

A thousand good wishes and regards to all friends.

Ever yours,
Vl. U.

Sent from Krakow

First published in Russian and in French in 1929 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from the Russian translation or the French original

1913

232

TO HIS MOTHER

(December 21) January 3, 1913

Mother dearest,

Today I received letters from you and Anyuta. A big *merci*.

The compliments of the season to all of you! May you all have a good time and keep well and cheerful.

Today I also got a picture postcard from Manyasha with a view of the River Vologda. Not a bad little town, judging by the postcard.... She writes that she has settled in there quite well.

If Mitya is with you give him my best regards. And the same to Mark. I hope he is better by now.

Anyuta is still writing badly! What a nuisance that finger is!

We are all well. We intend to celebrate the Russian festivals more than the local ones.

I embrace you fondly and wish you all the best.

Yours,
Vl. U.

Sent from Krakow to Saratov

First published in 1930
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 4

Printed from
the original

233

TO HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTER ANNA

Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova,
Tsarevskaya, 36,
Saratov,*
Russia

Mother dearest,

I received two parcels today. What a mountain of sweets you sent us! A big *merci* from us all. Nadya is quite cross with me because I wrote "about the fish", and about sweets, and because I have caused you so much trouble. I did not expect that everything would be in such gigantic quantities.... The duty on fish is not very high but for sweets it is quite a lot. And so we are now going to celebrate "New Year" again!

How are you two managing without Mark? The newspapers say that political exiles may get an amnesty. Let us wait until February 21....**

We are having wonderful winter weather without snow. I have bought some skates and skate with great enthusiasm—it brings back Simbirsk and Siberia. I have never before skated abroad.

I embrace you fondly, my dear, and send best regards to Anyuta. So do Y. V. and Nadya.

Yours,
Vl. U.

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* The address is taken from a copy found in a dossier of the Police Department.—*Ed.*

** Lenin refers to the amnesty granted on the occasion of the tercentenary of the House of Romanov.—*Ed.*

P.S. The number of our house has been changed, it is now Ulica Lubomirskiego, 49.

Dear Anyuta,

I had just written to Mother about the parcels when the letter from you both arrived. I am glad that Mark is pleased with his travelling—I hope he will be better off in Siberia. If you go to see Mitya* I hope you will call on us—it is almost on your way, the deviation is a very small one. If you did not have to pay a high stamp duty on passports it would be quite cheap; only those who live near the frontier can come here without passports, with "half passes" that cost 30 kopeks.

We live modestly, no changes.... We are drawing up plans for the publication of pamphlets at *Pravda*....[315] I do not know whether we shall be able to manage it, but there is a demand for it.

Manyasha writes occasionally. She still has not found any work.

What we are most badly off for here is *Russian* books! And there's nothing we can do about it.

All the best,

Yours,

V. U.

Written February 24, 1913
Sent from Krakow to Saratov

First published in 1930
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 4

Printed from the original

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*Lenin's brother Dmitry was at that time employed as public health officer in Feodosia, Crimea.—*Ed.*

234

TO HIS SISTER ANNA

Dear Anyuta,

It is quite a while since I had news of you. Is Mother keeping well? Have you received the letter I sent immediately on receiving the "goodies"?

It seems that the amnesty did not affect the exiles in Vologda *at all*....[316]

Is there any news from Mitya or Mark in their new places?

Do you know the address of Krumbügel—he published my book on philosophy? Is it possible to get hold of him (if you tell me how to find him I can probably get an acquaintance in Moscow to do it) and find out whether there are any unsold copies of the book left? We could now probably find *another* means of disposing of them and could come to an agreement on the subject with the publisher.

All the best, kiss Mother for me.

Yours,
Vl. U.

P.S. Our address is now Lubomirskiego No. 49 (and not 47).

Written March 18, 1913
Sent from Krakow to Saratov

First published in 1930
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 4

Printed from
the original

235

TO HIS SISTER MARIA

Dear Manyasha,

Congratulations on the occasion of your and Mother's name day. I hope you will soon be spending the summer months with more company and in more healthy surroundings.

Many thanks for the letter. I was very glad to get the news and will try to write again in a day or two. Forgive me for breaking off so soon, but I am in a great hurry.

Regards to friends. All the best.

Yours,
V. U.

Written during the first half of April, 1913
Sent from Krakow to Vologda

First published in the Fourth Edition of the *Collected Works*

Printed from the original

236

KRUPSKAYA AND LENIN TO LENIN'S MOTHER

May 3

Dear Maria Alexandrovna,

We have received your postcards and I am very glad to know that you are having a good rest. Here, too, it is real summer. Today we sent our things off to the country. Our new address is

Villa Terezy Skupień,
Poronin,
Galizien,
. . . . . .
Austria.

We shall be leaving in three days. The packing was an awful nuisance but as we are going to Poronin for five months we had to buy everything. I am quite invalided and tire very quickly. I have been going for electric treatment for a whole month, the swelling in my neck has not gone down but my eyes have become more normal and the palpitation is less. Treatment is free here in the nerve clinic and the doctors are very attentive. There is another advantage. While you are waiting your turn, you hear Polish spoken and speak yourself. I certainly want to learn Polish. In summer I shall have spare time and will read Polish books. We shall probably have a help in for four or five hours a day in summer and I shall have less to bother about. Mother did not go to Russia. Partly because of my illness and partly because there was no one to accompany her. But mostly because of my illness. In the last few days she has grown very tired from all the commotion in the house.

Volodya has been away and was not home for his birthday or for the holidays. The journey made a good break for him.[317]

I do not yet know whether there is anywhere to bathe in Poronin. Volodya is very fond of bathing—there will be no bath there and he will not be able to take a shower.

I want to get to the country as soon as possible. We live on the outskirts of the town, there are market gardens opposite our windows and the day before yesterday a nightingale was singing, but still it is a town, the children shout, soldiers are riding to and fro and the carts are noisy.

Well, I embrace you and Anya fondly and send regards to all. Is it possible that Anya's finger still hurts?

Mother sends regards.

Yours,
Nadya

Mother dearest,

I am adding a couple of words to Nadya's letter. I must apologise for not having written, but I have been away for a couple of days and now we are moving.

Many thanks to Mitya for the letter.[318] I have also received a very long and interesting letter from Mark. I will reply to it from Poronin.

Poronin is the station before Zakopane (a spa). There are *direct* coaches to Zakopane—from Warsaw second class and from Granice third class.

I embrace you fondly and send best regards to all.

Yours,
V. U.

Written May 3, 1913
Sent from Krakow to Feodosia (Crimea)

First published in 1930 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 4

Printed from the original

237

TO HIS SISTER MARIA

Maria Ilyinichna Ulyanova,
Yekaterininsko-Dvoryanskaya Street, 40,
Vologda,
Russia

Dear Manyasha,

I believe I am in debt to you (to Mark Timofeyevich I most certainly am). At long last I have settled down to write. We moved here a few days ago (partly because of Nadya's illness—she has thyroid trouble which worries me greatly) to spend the summer in the village of Poronin, in the mountains seven kilometres from Zakopane. It is near the Tatra Mountains,* 6-8 hours by rail to the south of Krakow and communication with Russia and Europe is through that town. It is farther from Russia, but that can't be helped.

We have rented a country house (a huge one, far too big!) for the whole summer up to October 1 (New Style) and after a lot of bother and bustle have moved. I think Nadya is worse from the moving. I shall probably have to take her to Berne for treatment....

This is a marvellous place. The air is wonderful—the altitude is about 2,300 feet. Our rather damp situation on the plains at Krakow cannot be compared to it. We have plenty of newspapers and can work.

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* The Tatras are part of the Carpathians, 8,500 feet high. Pure Switzerland!

The local people are Polish peasants, "Hurals" (mountaineers), with whom I converse* in incredibly broken Polish, a language of which I know five words, and the rest in distorted Russian. Nadya speaks a little Polish and can read the language. The villages are almost Russian in type. Thatched roofs, poverty. The women and children go barefoot. The men wear the Hural costume, white cloth trousers and coats, half jacket and half cape, of the same material. This is not a holiday resort (Zakopane is) and, therefore, very quiet. I still hope that Nadya will get better in the quiet and the mountain air. We have started leading the rural life here—we get up early and go to bed almost with the roosters. We walk every day to the post office and the station.

Do you see *Pravda* and *Prosveshcheniye* regularly?[319] The people here were glad to see the anniversary issue[320] and to hear of the metalworkers' victory over the liquidators.[321]

How are you? Will you be able to keep your lessons for the summer? Do you get enough books?

Greetings to Polish friends,** and I hope they help you in every way....

Y. V. and Nadya send regards and kisses. I too.

Yours,
V. U.

Address: Herrn Ulianow, Oesterreich, *Poronin* (Galizien).

P.S. You had better send this letter to Mother, unless she will be visiting you soon.

Written May 12 or 13, 1913
First published in 1929 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11
Printed from the original

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* (I prefer talking to Jews—in German).

** Lenin refers to V. V. Vorovsky who was in exile in Vologda.—*Ed.*

The house in Poronin (Poland) in which Lenin lived
in the summer of 1913 and 1914

238

KRUPSKAYA AND LENIN TO LENIN'S MOTHER

May 25

Dear Maria Alexandrovna,

We received your letter today. I hasten to reply to it.

I am getting better now. The palpitation has become less violent. I am following the doctor's advice and eating enough for three, guzzling milk and taking Robin's thyroid medicine and, in general, everything is fine. Volodya gets very worked up, people worry him a lot about Kocher. I am very glad that D. I. has written him a letter telling him that there is no need for an operation, etc., because people are talking all sorts of nonsense to him—that I may go blind, that I should lie motionless for eighteen months and so on. I have not got the disease in such an advanced stage and I shall recover in the summer.

Our real holiday is only just beginning. There was a terrible hurly-burly over the moving, and here at first we had to haggle. The people here have been spoiled by holidaymakers—they lie, swindle, etc. At first we were angry at this, but now everything is in its place. A girl comes to us; she cannot cook, but does all the household chores. Today the weather shows signs of changing; so far we have had a whole week of rain, but the place does not seem damp. This morning Volodya and I walked for about two hours, and now he has gone off alone to some indefinite point in space.

Every morning a fluffy black pup comes running to us from the neighbour's and Volodya spends a lot of time playing with it. This is the real summer cottage routine.

There is only one family here with whom we are

acquainted and they live a long way away, half an hour's walk. But that does not prevent us from seeing each other, sometimes twice a day.

I am glad there are no crowds here. I do a minimum amount of work. I read mostly Polish novels, and not very enthusiastically at that.

It is very beautiful here. Fortunately you cannot do a lot of cycling, because Volodya used to abuse that amusement and overtire himself; it is better to walk more.

Mother sends regards. She is still feeling miserable—her sister with whom she was brought up and with whom she had maintained close relations all her life, died a fortnight ago. Mother even wanted to go to Novocherkassk when she heard of her sister's illness, but she had no passport—it had been sent in for renewal.

Many kisses for Anya, and regards to all. Volodya will probably write himself. I embrace you fondly, my dear.

Yours,
Nadya

Mother dearest,

I embrace you fondly and send regards to all. Many thanks to Mitya for the letters. I am trying to persuade Nadya to go to Berne. She does not want to. She is now *slightly* better.

Yours,
V. U.

Written May 25, 1913
Sent from Poronin to Feodosia
(Crimea)

First published
in the Fourth Edition
of the *Collected Works*

Printed from
the original

239

TO HIS SISTER MARIA

Her Excellency Maria Ilyinichna Ulyanova,
Yekaterininsko-Dvoryanskaya Street, 40,
Vologda,
Russia

Sent by Wl. Ulianow in Poronin (Galizien)

June 18

Dear Manyasha,

On June 21 or 22 Nadya and I are going to Berne, where she will (probably) have an operation. The address there is: Herrn Schklowsky. 9. Falkenweg. 9. *Bern*. Switzerland. For W.I.U.

We shall probably be there from one to three weeks.

I am sending you a view of the Tatras, where we recently went on an excursion. Y. V. and Nadya send very best regards. Nadya is feeling well.

Best regards to Mother if she is at your place. Send this on to her if she is not.

Yours,
V. U.

Written June 18, 1913
First published
in the Fourth Edition
of the *Collected Works*

Printed from
the original

240

TO HIS MOTHER

Her Excellency Maria Ilyinichna Ulyanova (for M. A.),
Yekaterininsko-Dvoryanskaya Street, 40,
Vologda,
Russia

June 24, 1913

Mother dearest,

I received your letter just before I left. Nadya and I have reached Vienna and today we are continuing our journey. I will write to you from Berne. I embrace you fondly, Anyuta and Manyasha, too. We are travelling comfortably and have taken a look at Vienna. The weather is fine.

Yours,
V. U.

Please convey my apologies to M. T. for not answering his interesting letter. Tell him not to be angry!

Sent from Vienna

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241

TO HIS MOTHER

Maria Ilyinichna Ulyanova (for M. A. Ulyanova),
Yekaterininsko-Dvoryanskaya Street, 40,
Vologda,
Russia

Mother dearest,

Nadya and I have been in Berne for several days. Kocher has not yet received us. He is a difficult person. He's a celebrity and likes to be begged. Some competent local doctors praise him to the skies and promise complete success. We shall wait. In the meantime write to me c/o Herrn Schklowsky. (For W. I.) 9. Falkenweg. *Bern*. Switzerland.

We shall probably have to spend a few weeks here.

I embrace you fondly, my dear, and send very best regards to Anyuta and Manyasha. So does Nadya.

Yours,
V. U.

Written June 28 or 29, 1913
Sent from Berne

First published in 1929
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

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the original

242

TO HIS MOTHER

Saturday, July 26, 1918

Mother dearest,

After a fortnight's "preparation" in the clinic, Nadya was at last operated on on Wednesday. The operation seems to have been successful because she looked quite well yesterday, and had begun to drink willingly. It seems to have been a rather difficult operation, they tormented Nadya for about three hours without an anaesthetic, but she bore it bravely. On Thursday she was very bad, a high temperature and delirium, so I was pretty scared. But yesterday there was an obvious improvement, no fever, the pulse was slower, etc.

Kocher, of course, is a wonderful surgeon, and anyone with thyroid trouble should go to him; he has a huge clientele of Russians, of Jews especially.

I am already thinking of the journey back; we expect to leave on August 4 (unless Kocher delays it, which sometimes happens) and we shall make overnight stops at Zurich, Munich and Vienna, and go on home from there. I shall be here long enough to receive another letter from you, after which you must write to Poronin. If I am delayed here I will write again.

The suppression of the paper I wrote for[322] leaves me in a very critical position. I shall try harder than ever to find publishers and translations; it is very difficult at present to find any literary work.

I embrace you fondly, my dear, and send very best regards to Manyasha and Anya. Nadya sends her fondest regards.

Yours,
V. U.

Sent from Berne to Vologda

First published in 1929
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from
the original

243

TO HIS SISTER MARIA

Maria Ilyinichna Ulyanova,
Samarin's House, Apt. 3,
Moskovskaya Street,
Vologda,
Russia

Dear Manyasha,

I received your letter a few days after I had posted you a letter from Nadya and me.

You make me ashamed of myself for my silence. I really am at fault—there has been a lot of bother over our moving and because of the influenza. Now Y. V. here is ill—she has had a very bad attack of influenza but is *now recovering*.

You ask about new German literature. I have just finished reading the four volumes of the Marx-Engels correspondence. I want to write about it in *Prosveshcheniye*.[323] There is much of interest. It is pity the publishers—those Bosches!—charge such a price for it—40 marks! I have not yet read Beer's new *History of Socialism in England*, but I soon shall.

Cunow's book on the origin of religion appeared recently. I would send it to you (I can buy it) but I am afraid it would not reach you. If you receive or can obtain *Neue Zeit*, there is a list in it of all the interesting things. I do not see any new bourgeois literature. If you like I can send you a list of all new books in German (a small publication I get every month, it is put out by Hinrichs, a bookseller in Leipzig).

All the best. Give Mother many kisses for me and for Nadya.

Yours,
V. U.

It is a long time since I had word from Anyuta.

I am reading Octave Mirbeau's *Dingo*. In my opinion it is no good.

Written November 12 or 13, 1913
Sent from Krakow

First published in 1929 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

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244

TO HIS SISTER MARIA

Maria Ilyinichna Ulyanova,
Samarin's House, Apt. 3,
Moskovskaya Street,
Vologda,
Russia

December 21

Dear Manyasha,

Under separate cover I am sending you some German book catalogues. Look them over and drop me a line to say if there is anything that interests you (when you have finished with them—there is *no* hurry—return them).

How are you and Mother getting on? Do you intend to see Mark or Anya during the holidays? Have you heard anything from Mitya?

Everything is still the same here; I have already got thoroughly used to the Krakow way of life—narrow, quiet, sleepy, but in some respects more convenient than life in Paris.

Forgive me for not writing often, business interferes.

Give Mother many kisses for me. Nadya and Y. V. also send regards and kisses.

Yours,
V. U.

Written December 21, 1913
Sent from Krakow

First published in 1929
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the original

245

KRUPSKAYA AND LENIN TO LENIN'S MOTHER

December 26

Dear Maria Alexandrovna,

It is an age since I last wrote to you. In general I have been conducting a sort of sit-down strike against letter-writing lately. Volodya is partly to blame. He has enticed me into the "excursionist" party. It is our local joke that we have a "cinemist" party (of cinema-lovers), an "anti-cinemist", or "anti-semitic", party, and an "excursionist" party, which is always finding excuses for excursions. Volodya is a confirmed anti-cinemist and an enthusiastic excursionist. He has recruited me into his party and so I have no time left for anything. To make things worse, we are having some wonderfully fine days. With just a light fall of snow—really excellent. And autumn, too, was fine. After all, what is there to do in Krakow but go walking. We have no sophisticated amusements of any kind. We did once go to a concert, a Beethoven quartet, we even clubbed together to buy a season ticket, but for some reason the music made us terribly miserable, although an acquaintance of ours,* an excellent musician, was in ecstasies over it. We do not want to go to the Polish theatre, the cinema here is quite absurd—all five-act melodramas.... Volodya and I have decided that after the holidays we will begin a study of the local University library, for, to our shame, we have never been there. If there is anything we thirst for here it is good literature. Volodya has practically learned Nadson and Nekrasov by heart and an odd volume of *Anna Karenina*

* Inessa Armand.—*Ed.*

is being read for the hundredth time. We left our literature (a tiny fraction of what we had in St. Petersburg) in Paris and here there isn't a Russian book to be had anywhere. At times we read with envy the advertisements of second-hand booksellers offering 28 volumes of Uspensky or 10 volumes of Pushkin, etc., etc.

Volodya, as luck would have it, has become a great fiction-lover. And an out-and-out nationalist. You cannot get him to look at the pictures by Polish artists at any price but he has picked up, for instance, a catalogue of the Tretyakov Gallery that some acquaintance had thrown away and is always burying himself in it.

We are all well. Volodya takes a cold shower every day, goes for walks and does not suffer from insomnia. He continues praising the local swamp. Mother is often unwell, first a gumboil, then a cough.... She sends her best regards. I had a letter from Manyasha, but it was in her usual scrawl so I understood nothing of it. She should write more often. I embrace her and you most fondly, wish you good health and everything of the best. Again I kiss you.

Yours,
Nadya

Many kisses, my dear, I wish you good health and spirits. Very best regards to Manyasha (I wrote to her a few days ago) and to Anyuta, who is probably with you.

Yours,
V. U.

ARCHIVE OF MARXISM NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

Written December 26, 1913
Sent from Krakow to Vologda

First published in 1929
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from
the original

1914

246

KRUPSKAYA AND LENIN TO LENIN'S MOTHER

January 7

Dear Maria Alexandrovna,

A Happy New Year to you, Manyasha and Anya, with all best wishes for everything that is good.

We spent the European New Year's Eve alone with Volodya sitting over plates of curds, and the Russian New Year's Eve we shall not celebrate at all because Volodya is going away for a month or six weeks to work in a library.[324] I envy him a bit because our place is more like a backwoods village than a town and I miss people quite a lot. There is simply no one here to bother about and no one to take care of.

We do not seem to be able to make acquaintances among the local inhabitants.

Winter tried hard to get going here, Volodya went skating three times and tempted me to buy skates, but the weather suddenly turned warm, all the ice melted, and today, for instance, there is a real smell of spring in the air. Yesterday, too, was not at all like winter. Volodya and I went for a long walk in the country and it was fine.

That, then, is all our news. I embrace you fondly, Mother sends regards.

How are your eyes? Did Anya come as she intended to?

Keep well!

Yours,

Nadya

Mother dearest,

I embrace you fondly and wish you a Happy New Year—you, and Manyasha and Anya!

Yours,
V. U.

Written January 7, 1914
Sent from Krakow to Vologda

First published
in the Fourth Edition
of the *Collected Works*

Printed from
the original

247

TO HIS SISTER ANNA

Anna Ilyinichna Yelizarova,
Goncharnaya Street, 11, Apt. 23,
St. Petersburg,
Russia

Dear Anyuta,

At last I am home after a long absence; I found and read all your letters, and today another one came, the one you thought might not arrive. We have them all. You were right about the delay with the articles, but there is nothing I can do. I have only two hands. *Prosveshcheniye* No. 1 has not arrived, although I have received a newspaper with a notice that it has been published. You are also delaying things. I am going to write about the self-determination of nations—perhaps it will be in time for No. 2.[325]

Please send me *Proletarskaya Pravda* No. 11 (2 copies), *Put Pravdy* No. 2, *Novaya Rabochaya Gazeta* No. 8 (126)[326]—do not ask anybody else to send them (that is hopeless) but send them yourself.

With regard to the summaries of crime statistics for 1905-1908, I would ask you not to buy them (there is no need, they are expensive) but to get them from a library (either the Bar Council or the Duma Library) and send them for a month. (Many thanks for the journal of the Ministry of Justice—I hope you got it back.) I heard that you people crossed out of the article on the X affair*

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* For the case of X (Danski, B. G.) see *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 524.—*Ed.*

something against the liquidators and I was very angry at this inappropriate and harmful conciliation; you are only helping the foul slander of the liquidators, delaying the inevitable process of chucking such scoundrels as Galina, Martov, Dan and others out of the working-class movement. You won't succeed in anything but disgracing yourselves. I am really mad at the disgusting blackmail engineered by Martov & Co. in the X affair; we shall gradually crush that gang of blackmailers,

I have not written home for a long time. I hope everything is all right there. Drop me a line or two.

I have just received *Prosveshcheniye* No. 1. Congratulations. In general it is good. Except for the misprints.... And the review of Levitsky's book with the foolish word "factionally" in it....[327] Who let that go through? Who is the author? N. K. will write about the women's magazine.[328]

Written February 11, 1914
Sent from Krakow

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXV*

Printed from
a typewritten copy
(made by the police)

248

TO HIS SISTER MARIA

Maria Ilyinichna Ulyanova,
Samarin's House, Apt. 3,
Moskovskaya Street,
Vologda,
Russia

February 16, 1914

Dear Manyasha,

I recently returned from a trip (among other things, I lectured on the question of nationalities in Paris)[329] and still cannot settle down to write.

How are you? When will your term of exile be over?

How is Mother keeping? Has she completely recovered?

It is a long time since I had news of Mark or Mitya. I know nothing about their way of life or their plans.

There have been no changes here. We still live modestly. Nadya seems to be in for a relapse of her thyroid trouble—the symptoms are still mild but they are there. Perhaps I shall have to take her for another operation in spring.... It is still not certain and it is better so far to say nothing to her about if. I am quite well, so is Y. V.

All the best. Give Mother many kisses for me.

Yours,
V. U.

Sent from Krakow

First published in 1929 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from the original

249

TO HIS MOTHER

February 21, 1914

Mother dearest,

I have received your postcard—*merci*. What a difference between, your weather and ours here! Here it is already spring-there has been no snow for a long time, it is warm, we do not wear galoshes and the sun is unusually bright for these parts. We cannot believe that we are in "wet" Krakow. It is a pity that you and Manyasha have to live in a nasty little town!... I have been to Paris and not to London and have had quite a good trip. Paris is a very unsuitable town for a man of modest means to live in, and very tiring. But there is no better and more lively town to stay in for a short time, just for a visit, for an outing. It made a good change.

In summer we shall probably go to Poronin again.

I embrace you fondly, my dear, and hope you keep well. Best regards to Manyasha.

Yours,
V. U.

P.S. Nadya and Y. V. also send many kisses.

Sent from Krakow to Vologda
First published in 1929
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from
the original

250

KRUPSKAYA AND LENIN TO LENIN'S MOTHER

March 16

Dear Maria Alexandrovna,

It is an age since I wrote to you. For some reason it seems difficult to write this year. We are very lonely here—there is really only one family in the whole town with whom we are acquainted. They have an amusing little boy but we do not see eye to eye with the mother. There is one other family but their company is painful, they are so worn out with poverty, so completely crushed. Nor do we get many letters. We live mostly on newspapers.

The weather here is not bad, the grass is showing green and so are the buds on the trees, but the mud on the roads is terrible. Volodya went for quite a long ride on his bicycle but had a burst tyre. We intend to go for long outings in the woods. We go walking a little every day—our house is on the very outskirts of the town and the fields are only five minutes' walk from us. We have already arranged for the old cottage in the country and are thinking of moving there on May 1. The house there is a bit on the big side for us and is a long way from the shops, but the rooms are very good and have stoves in them, there are two verandahs, and it is some distance from the road.

Perhaps I shall recover my breath there. Again I have thyroid trouble, not as badly as before, my eyes are almost normal and my neck swells only when I am excited, but the palpitation is rather bad. Actually the disease does not yet bother me very much and does not prevent my doing anything, but it is a bore to have to be careful of everything and to have to start an invalid routine again. It is damp

here in Krakow but in Poronin I shall probably get over it all very quickly.

Volodya is very fond of Poronin and particularly likes scrambling up the mountains. This time we intend to take a servant who will live in, so that there will be no bother with the housekeeping and we shall be able to go on long outings.

Anya is spoiling us this year by sending so many books. Has Manyasha received my letter?

Many kisses for her and for you, my dear.

Mother sends regards. She wanted to go to Russia, but it is a lot of trouble.

I wish you all the best and hope you keep well.

Yours,
Nadya

Many kisses, Mother dearest, and regards to all. Mitya as well—many thanks for the letter. I have also had a letter from Mark. Here we saw the "Beilis affair"[330] in the cinema (they made a melodrama of it). We went to the Shevchenko[331] celebration—it was in Ukrainian. I understand terribly little Ukrainian. There have been no changes. I embrace you fondly and hope you keep well.

Yours,
V. U.

Written March 16, 1914
Sent from Krakow to Vologda

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of the *Collected Works*

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the original

251

TO HIS MOTHER

April 10, 1914

Mother dearest,

I embrace you fondly and congratulate you and Manyasha on the occasion of your name day. I now hope that the summer in Vologda will be better than the winter has been and it is, after all, the last summer!*

In these last few days I have caught a slight cold (that has to happen every spring!) but am now quite well.

Very soon, early in May, we are going to Poronin again.

I embrace you fondly and hope you keep well!

Yours,
V. U.

Sent from Krakow to Vologda
First published in 1929 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from the original

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* Maria Ulyanova's term of exile ended in the autumn of 1914.—*Ed.*

252

TO HIS SISTER MARIA

Maria Ilyinichna Ulyanova,
Samarin's House, Apt. 3,
Moskovskaya Street,
Vologda,
Russia

April 22

Dear Manyasha,

I have had news that you are annoyed at my prolonged silence. I am indeed at fault as far as letter-writing is concerned—it is very difficult in our situation (in yours and in mine especially) to carry on the correspondence one would like....

Yesterday we received a letter from Mother addressed to me and to Nadya. Give Mother many kisses for me. Perhaps you will be better off in summer than in winter.

I recently received information about the exiles at Olonets. They have collected material about the situation there and who the exiles are—most of them are workers, new people (post-revolutionary people), out of 150 people in the uyezd there are two liquidators and a few Left Narodniks. Apparently there are great changes in the composition of the exile groups—it would be of interest to collect the data and publish them occasionally in *Prosveshcheniye*.[332] Nadya has written to you and intends to write again.

In a fortnight or so we are again going to Poronin—there are mountains there and I hope that Nadya's thyroid trouble will pass—mountain air is good for people suffering

from this disease. The weather here is wonderful and I frequently go cycling.

No matter how provincial and barbarous this town of ours may be, by and large I am better off here than I was in Paris. The hurly-burly of life in the émigré colony there was incredible, one's nerves got worn down badly and for no reason at all, Paris is an inconvenient place to work in, the Bibliothèque nationale is badly organised—we often thought of Geneva, where work went better, the library was convenient, and life was less nerve-racking and time-wasting. Of all the places I have been in my wanderings I would select London or Geneva, if those two places were not so far away. Geneva is particularly fine for its general cultural level and the conveniences that make life easier. Here, of course, there can be no talk of culture—it is almost the same as Russia—the library is a bad one and extremely inconvenient, although I scarcely ever have to go there....

Autumn in the Tatras (the mountains near where we live in Poronin) is marvellous—at least, last autumn was delightful after a rainy summer. Your time will be up in autumn, won't it? I sometimes have dreams of our seeing one another in autumn. If it is fine in autumn we are thinking of staying in the country in October, too.

All the best,
Yours,
V. U.

Written April 22, 1914
Sent from Krakow

First published in 1929
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from
the original

253

TO HIS SISTER ANNA

Anna Ilyinichna Yelizarova,
Grechesky Prospekt, 17, Apt. 18,
Petrograd,
Russia

Wl. Uljanow,
Distelweg, 11,
Berne

November 14, 1914

Dear Anyuta,

I have received a letter from you and also from Mark, and, lastly, a postcard from Mother. Many, many thanks to everyone! I do not need any money at present. My incarceration was a very brief one,[333] only 12 days, and I was soon granted certain privileges, so that the "time" I did was very easy, the conditions and the treatment were good. Now I have had time to look round and settle down here. We are living in two furnished rooms, very good ones, and we eat in a neighbouring dining-room. Nadya feels quite well, so does Y. V., although she has aged badly. I have finished my article for the Granat Encyclopaedia (about Marx) and am sending it in a few days.[334] I had to abandon part (the bigger part, almost all) of my books in Galicia.... I fear for their safety.[335] It is very sad to watch the growth of chauvinism in a number of countries and to see such treacherous acts as those of the German (and not only the German) Marxists, or pseudo-Marxists.... It stands to reason that the liberals are praising Plekhanov again; he has fully deserved that shameful punishment.[336] Answer me as quickly as possible about how matters stand with the journal.[337] Is there any possibility of starting it? If so, when? Does the post office accept responsibility for manuscripts

sent by registered post? I embrace Mother fondly, send her many kisses and hope she keeps well; regards to all from all!

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

P.S. I have seen the disgraceful, shameless issue of *Sovremenny Mir*....[338] Shame! Shame!

First published in 1930
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 4

Printed from
the original

254

TO HIS SISTER MARIA

Maria Ilyinichna Ulyanova,
Kostomarovsky Street, 15,
Apt. 336,
Syromyatniki,
Moscow,
Russia

Expédié par Wl. Oulianoff,
Distelweg, 11,
Berne,
Switzerland

December 22

Dear Manyasha,

I was very glad to receive your letter of November 14 which arrived today. You addressed it to our old apartment; our present address is Distelweg, 11.

I will try to find out whether or not there is a bureau here that can give information about Russian prisoners of war, and also about that particular prisoner you are interested in.[339] Perhaps because of the coming holidays I shall not be able to find out immediately, but in any case I will try.

We are living fairly well, quietly and peacefully in sleepy Berne. The libraries here are good, and I have made quite decent arrangements as far as the use of books is concerned. It is even pleasant to read after my daily newspaper work. There is a pedagogical library here for Nadya and she is writing something on pedagogy.

I wrote asking Anyuta whether it is possible to find a publisher for an agrarian book; I could write one here. *If* you have an opportunity to do so, would you, too, try to find out?

Why didn't you write anything about yourself—how are you keeping? Are you earning anything? How much, where, and is it enough? Drop me a line if you can.

Very best regards,

Yours,

V. Ulyanov

Nadya and Y. V. send best regards.

If you have an opportunity, please find out (if it is not too much trouble) whether Granat received my article on Marx. I would like to get some work for the Encyclopaedic Dictionary, but it is probably not easy to arrange unless you have an opportunity to meet the secretary of the editorial board.

Written December 22, 1914

First published in 1929 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from the original

1915

255

TO HIS SISTER MARIA

Maria Ilyinichna Ulyanova,
Kostomarovsky Street, 15, Apt. 336,
Syromyatniki,
Moscow,
Russia

Uljanow,
Distelweg, 11,
Berne (Switzerland)

February 9, 1915

Dear Manyasha,

I have received two pamphlets from you—by Oganovsky and Maslov. Many thanks! They are both rotten opportunists of the most harmful type (can there be anybody in agreement with them and with Plekhanov? It could not be worse). It is, however, extremely useful to know what they are writing. I shall therefore be extremely grateful if you send me things of this sort and also clippings from newspapers (and magazines) dealing with similar subjects. A long time ago (in the August or September issues), Y. Smirnov, for instance, wrote something extremely shallow in *Russkiye Vedomosti* about voting for credits, etc. I saw that, but I know nothing further about the literary activities of this man and others like him.

Here we are well off for foreign newspapers and books in the libraries. We are living fairly well. Berne is a small and dull but quite civilised town. Y. V. is ill with influenza.

There is a growth in the anti-chauvinist mood among the Germans; there has been a split in Stuttgart and in Frankfurt am Main.[340] An anti-chauvinist publication *Lichtstrahlen*[341] is appearing in Berlin.

If it will not be too much trouble, and if you should happen to be somewhere near (please do not go there specially

as there is *absolutely* no hurry) please find out from the Granats who accepted my article for the Encyclopaedic Dictionary, whether they sent the fee to M. T. Yelizarov (as I asked),* and whether it is possible to obtain some more work there for the Encyclopaedic Dictionary. I have written to the secretary** about this but he has not answered me.

Wishing you all the best—regards from me and from Nadya.

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

First published in 1929
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from
the original

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* The article was entitled "Karl Marx" and the fee for it was handed to Lenin's sister Maria, personally.—*Ed.*

** *Collected Works*, Vol. 36, p. 317.—*Ed.*

256

TO HIS MOTHER

Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova, Ulianow,
Shirokaya Street, 48/9, Apt. 24, Seidenweg, 4aIII,
Peterburgskaya Storona, Berne
Petrograd,
Russia

October 7, 1915

Mother dearest,

Nadya and I moved a few days ago to Berne. We wanted to stay longer in Sörenberg,[342] but it was snowing there and the cold was just impossible. This year autumn is very cold, and Sörenberg has a mountain climate. We have found a nice room here with electricity and bath for 30 francs. Nadya has put on quite a lot of weight; the palpitation has gone; she has even been up the mountains—let's hope there is no recurrence of that thyroid trouble.

How are you all getting on? Have you made good arrangements for the winter? Are you keeping well, and is the apartment warm? We thank Anyuta very, very, very much for the book, for the most interesting collection of pedagogical publications and for the letter.* I wrote to her about a publisher and am now awaiting an answer.[343] How is Manyasha? If you can, send her this letter; I should be glad to get a line from her too. Give or send our best regards to Mitya and Mark. I should be very grateful for a subscription to *Rech* (Anyuta wrote that she intended subscribing). There are not many newspapers, books or pamphlets in Russian, we see very few and thirst for them. Has

* Apparently a letter in invisible ink.—*Ed.*

Anyuta received my list of "the desirable" that I sent her a long time ago? (i.e., desirable Russian books). I send you many kisses and embrace you fondly. Anyuta, too. So does Nadya.

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

First published in 1930
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 4

Printed from
the original

1916

257

TO HIS SISTER MARIA

Mlle. Marie Oulianoff,
Malaya Gruzinskaya, 7, Apt. 13,
Moscow,
Russia

Ulianow,
Spiegelgasse, 12
(bei Kammerer),
Zürich I

February 20, 1916

Dear Manyasha,

Many thanks for the newspapers you sent me a few days ago. Today I received a notice from the Central Committee of the German Red Cross Unions to the effect that Aaron Rosenfeldt is a prisoner of war at Bütow, 66 Regiment.[344] It has taken more than a year to get the information; neither the Geneva nor the Danish Red Cross could find anything out, but I accidentally came across the address of the German prisoner of war commission and wrote to them. They, too, took more than two months to reply!

Nadya and I are very pleased with Zurich; there are good libraries here—we shall stay a few weeks more and then return to Berne.[345] You may write to this address, the post office will forward the letters.

With all my very best wishes and Nadya's too.

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

First published in 1929
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from
the original

258

TO HIS MOTHER

March 12, 1916

Mother dearest,

I am sending you some photos, one of them for Manyasha.

We are now living in Zurich. We came here to work in the libraries. We like the lake here very much and the libraries are much better than those in Berne, so we shall probably stay here longer than we had intended. You may write to this address, the post office always forwards letters.

I hope that the cold weather is already past and that you are not freezing in a cold apartment. I hope it will soon be warm and you will recover from the winter.

Nadya sends her very best regards to all. Many kisses, Mother dearest; keep well. Best regards to Anyuta and also to M. T.

Yours,
V. U.

Sent from Zurich to Petrograd

First published in 1929 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from the original

259

TO HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW

His Excellency
Mark Timofeyevich Yelizarov,
Po Volge Steamship Co.,
Nevsky, 45,
Petrograd,
Russia

Uljanow,
Spiegelgasse, 14II,
Zürich,
Switzerland

September 20, 1916

Dear M. T.,

Please show this postcard to Manyasha or send it on to her. I yesterday received her letter (postcard) dated August 8, and also some books, for which my best thanks. I was greatly worried by the news that Anyuta is in hospital.[346] What is the matter? Is it the same disease that made her once before, as she wrote, go into hospital for an operation? I hope that she and you will, at least, apply to only the very best surgeons because in such cases one should never have dealings with mediocre doctors. I shall impatiently await more frequent news, even if only in brief. Letters take a terribly long time nowadays! Many thanks to Manyasha for taking so much trouble over publishers; I shall get down to writing something or other, because prices have risen so hellishly that life has become devilishly difficult. How is Manyasha getting on? Does she earn a good salary? (I received 200 rubles and acknowledged it; thanks again.) If you can, please send Russian newspapers once a week after you have read them, because I have *none at all* (it is not worth while sending them more often). All the best and kisses for Manyasha. Nadya says the same.

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

First published in 1929
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from
the original

260

TO HIS SISTER MARIA

Maria Ilyinichna Ulyanova,
Shirokaya Street, 48, Apt. 24,
Petrograd,
Russia

Oulianoff,
Spiegelgasse, 14II,
Zürich I,
Switzerland

October 22, 1916

Dear Manyasha,

I received your two postcards dated August 29 and September I at the same time. Thanks very much for the trouble you have taken with the publishers and for the money you sent. Has the new publisher received the manuscript on modern capitalism?[347] Please let me know when he does. I regard this work on economics as being of exceptionally great importance and would especially like to see it in print in full. You write that the publisher wants to put out *The Agrarian Question* as a book and not as a pamphlet. I understand that to mean that I must send him the continuation (i.e., in addition to what I have written about America I must write what I have promised about Germany),[348] I will start on this as soon as I have finished what I have to write to cover the advance received from the old publisher.*

And so I take it that the new publisher has *commissioned me* to continue the agrarian question! If you have the chance, remind him of that. (I have not received the 500 rubles, but shall receive them in a day or two, of course; I do not think it is an advance, but payment for the manuscripts received.)

Is it at all possible (if an opportunity offers, not especially) to find out whether Granat included my article on Marx

* The old publisher was V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich.—*Ed.*

in the Dictionary?* I did not get the promised reprints. If he does not answer, can you find out from the library by taking out the volume for that letter?

I have sent you three suggestions for translation (three books—Kemmerer; Gilbreth; Hobson). If they are not suitable let me know and I will look for others. If suitable, you must make sure that an order is given and the suggestion accepted. Then I will start work. Perhaps Anya will undertake the translation of one of the books? Give Anya my very best regards and Nadya's. I have sent you three postcards to M. T.'s** address and am now sending this to your address. Is it just as convenient? Nadya and I are still living in the same old way, quite quietly; the libraries in Zurich are better and it is more convenient to work. Many kisses from Nadya and me and regards to M. T. I am *very* grateful for the books you sent; we have also received the women's journal.

Yours,
V. U.

First published in 1929
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from
the original

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* See Note 334.—*Ed.*

** Of the three postcards two have been lost and the third is published as Letter No. 259.—*Ed.*

261

TO HIS SISTER MARIA

Her Excellency Maria Ilyinichna Ulyanova,
Shirokaya Street, 48/9,
Apt. 24,
Petrograd,
Russia

Oulianoff,
Spiegelgasse, 14II,
Zürich,
Switzerland

November 26, 1916

Dear Manyasha,

I had just sent a registered postcard to Mark Timofeyevich's address when the books (a novel in two volumes) came from you, and then a postcard saying you were expecting Anyuta in a day or two.* Many thanks for the books. I am very glad to get the news about Anyuta. My very best regards to her; I hope she will not be long in Astrakhan Gubernia and, while there, she should be careful not to get ill from the hot climate to which she is not accustomed. Nadya sends regards and thanks you for the news about Lidiya.

There have been no changes here. Prices are rising more than ever. Many thanks for the money (I have written to M. T. acknowledging receipt of 500 rubles=869 francs). If it is not too much trouble send me three or four times a month the Russian newspapers after you have read them—tie them up tightly with string or they will get lost. I have no Russian newspapers here. For translation I proposed

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* This refers to the release of Lenin's sister Anna from prison. —*Ed.*

three books—Kemmerer, *Technischer Fortschritt*, Hobson, *Imperialism*, and Gitbreth, *Motion Study*. I have not yet received an answer and am awaiting one (because the publisher must find out whether they have been published before).

I again wish everybody all the best and send you and Anya many kisses.

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

First published in 1929
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from
the original

1917

262

TO HIS SISTER MARIA

Mlle Maria Ilyinichna Ulyanova,
Shirokaya Street, 48/9, Apt. 24,
Petrograd,
Russia

Oulianoff,
Spiegelgasse, 14,
Zürich I,
Switzerland

February 15, 1917

Dear Manyasha,

I today received 808 francs through the Azov-Don Bank; in addition to that I received 500 francs on January 22. Please write and let me know what money this is, whether it is from a publisher, from which one, for what and whether it is for me. I must keep an account, that is, I must know what the publisher has paid for and what he has not. I cannot understand where so much money comes from; Nadya says jokingly that I must have been "pensioned off". Ha, ha! The joke is a merry one, for the cost of living makes one despair and I have desperately little capacity for work because of my shattered nerves. But joking aside, I must know more about this; please let me know. It is most likely that one (or more) of your letters has gone astray and I do not know what is going on. I am afraid to spend the money (sometimes money was sent through me to a sick friend).

I recently received these books from you: *Russkiye Zapiski*, *Tvyordige tseny na khleb*, *Trudovoye posrednichestvo*, *Tulskaya statistika*. I am very, very grateful.

Very best regards to Anyuta, M. T. and Mitya. There are no changes here, we live very quietly; Nadya often

feels poorly. The winter has been exceptionally cold, even now it is still cold. How are all of you there? Are you keeping well? We rarely get news of you.

All the best, many kisses,

Yours,

V. Ulyanov

First published in 1929
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from
the original

263

TO HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW

Registered.
His Excellency
Mark Timofeyevich Yelizarov,
Po Volge Steamship Co.,
Nevsky, 45,
Petrograd,
Russia

Wl. Oulianoff,
Spiegelgasse, 14,
Zürich I,
Switzerland

Dear Mark Timofeyevich,

From the enclosed you will see that Nadya is planning the publication of a Pedagogical Dictionary or Pedagogical Encyclopaedia.[349]

I am strongly in favour of this plan because, in my opinion, it fills a very serious gap in Russian pedagogical literature; it will be a very useful work and will provide an income, *which for us is extremely important*.

With the increase in the number of readers and the broader circles involved, there is now a quickly growing demand for *encyclopaedias* and similar publications. A properly compiled Pedagogical Dictionary or Pedagogical Encyclopaedia will become a handbook and go through a number of editions.

I am sure Nadya can do this because she has been working in pedagogy for years, has written about it and has undergone systematic training. Zurich is an exceptionally convenient centre for work of this kind; it has the world's finest pedagogical museum.

There is no doubt that such an undertaking would be profitable. The best thing would be for us to undertake

the publication of it *ourselves*, borrowing the necessary capital or finding a capitalist who would come in as a partner in the enterprise.

If that is *not* possible, and if it would be merely a waste of time to go chasing after it—you, of course, will know what is best, and when you have given it some thought and obtained some information, decide the matter for yourself—the plan should be offered to the old publisher, who will probably accept it. The plan must not be stolen, i.e., somebody else must not get in first. Then a *detailed* contract must be concluded with the publisher in the name of the editor (Nadya) that covers *all* the terms. If not, the publisher (the old publisher too!) will grab *all* the profit for himself and enslave the editor. *That happens.*

I should very much like you to give this plan your best attention, take a look round, talk with people, worry them, and answer* me in detail.

All the best,

Yours,

V. Ulyanov

P.S. The publication is in two volumes, two columns to a page; to be issued in parts of 16 to 32 pages. Advertise for *subscribers*. Then the money will come in quickly.

Written February 18 or 19, 1917

First published in 1930 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 4

Printed from the original

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* If you are successful send a telegram "Encyclopaedia contract concluded" and Nadya will speed up the work.

264

TELEGRAM TO HIS SISTERS MARIA AND ANNA

Telegram No. 148,
Form No. 71,
Received April 2, 1917 at 20 hrs 8 m.

Ulyanova,
Shirokaya, 48/9, Apt. 24,
Petrograd,
From Torneo, 2. 18 hrs 12 m.

Arriving Monday 11 p.m. inform *Pravda*.

Ulyanov

Written April 2, 1917
First published in 1929
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from
the telegraph form

265

TO HIS SISTER MARIA

Dear Manyasha,

I am sending you greetings and all best wishes. I am quite comfortable and am working on the question of the state, which has interested me for a long time.[350] I want to give you some advice—you absolutely must go away for medical treatment. There is nothing much doing at the present time, troubled though it is, and you must use it to get your leg and your nerves treated. I ask you very, very sincerely to go away—immediately and without fail. You can take a translation or some fiction with you, so that you will be better able to stand the boredom that to a certain extent is inevitable during medical treatment. But you absolutely must go. Please do as I ask and drop me a line in reply. I embrace you fondly.

Yours,
Ulyanov

Written in August 1917
Sent from Helsingfors (Helsinki)
to Petrograd

First published in 1929
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from
the telegraph form

266

TO HIS SISTER MARIA

Dear, sweet Mimosa,*

I ask you very much to go away for treatment, do not postpone it. You must not miss the chance. When you return it will be *easy* to arrange a job for you. You absolutely must go.

The Beer plan is an excellent one. Try also to get *Schlüter* on Chartism (in German);[351] it appeared after Beer and corrected that opportunist. A very good booklet could be written about Beer *and Schlüter*. Drop me a line in reply.

"Party Congresses" is also a good subject (in addition to the *minutes*, various booklets** are needed, I do not even approximately remember which ones). If you do write, send me the draft and we can discuss it.

I embrace you very fondly.

V. Ul.

Written at the end of August-September, 1917
Sent from Helsingfors (Helsinki) to Petrograd

First published in 1929 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from the telegraph form

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* Mimosa was one of the Pay nicknames used by Lenin's sister Maria Ulyanova.—*Ed.*

** Lenin's "Report" on the Stockholm Congress is in my possession quite by chance, and nothing else.... Too little!

1919

267

TELEGRAM TO HIS WIFE

To Ulyanova-Lenina
Kazan or present whereabouts of
the Government propaganda vessel
Krasnaya Zvezda

Am forwarding Pozner's telegram. Please wire about your health and route you are following.[352]

Lenin
Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars

Written July 2, 1919
First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Printed from
the original

268

TO HIS WIFE[353]

July 9, 1919

Nadya dearest,

I was very glad to hear from you. I sent a telegram to Kazan and, as I got no answer, sent another to Nizhny, and from there I today received a reply to the effect that the *Krasnaya Zvezda* is supposed to arrive in Kazan on July 8 and stay there for not less than 24 hours. In that telegram I asked whether it would be possible to give Gorky a cabin on *Krasnaya Zvezda*. He is arriving here tomorrow and I want very much to drag him out of Petrograd, where he has exhausted his nerves and gone sour. I hope you and the other comrades will be glad to have Gorky travelling with you. He is really a very nice chap, a bit capricious, but that is nothing.

I read the letters asking for help that sometimes come for you and try to do what I can.

Mitya has left for Kiev; the Crimea, it seems, is again in the hands of the Whites.

There is nothing new here; on Sundays we take a holiday at "our" country house.[354] Trotsky is better; he has left for the South and I hope he will manage all right. I am expecting an improvement from the substitution of Kamenev (from the Eastern Front) for Vatsetis.

We are giving Pokrovsky (M. N.)* two months' leave

* M. N. Pokrovsky was at that time Deputy People's Commissar of Education of the R.S.F.S.R.—*Ed.*

for a rest; we want to appoint Lyudmila Rudolfovna Menzhinskaya as deputy commissar in his place (although it is not yet definite), *but not* Pozner.

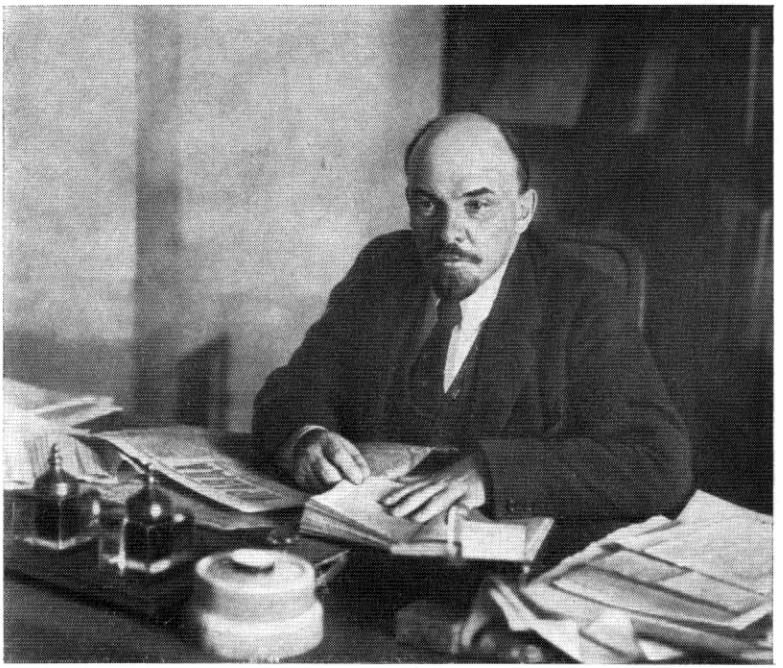
I embrace you fondly and ask you to write and to telegraph more often.

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

N.B. Obey the doctor's advice: eat and sleep more, then you will be *fully* fit for work by winter.

First published in 1931
in Lenin's *Letters to Relatives*

Printed from
the original



V. I. LENIN
October 1918

269

TELEGRAM TO HIS WIFE

Ulyanova,
Kazan

We are all well.[355] I saw Gorky today and tried to persuade him to travel on your steamer, about which I sent a telegram to Nizhny, but he flatly refused. We are giving Pokrovsky leave of absence. Menzhinskaya has been provisionally appointed in his place. I received your letter from Uretsky and sent a reply back by him. Do you get the Moscow newspapers?

Lenin

Written July 10, 1919
First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

270

TO HIS WIFE

Nadezhda Konstantinovna Ulyanova,
Government vessel *Krasnaya Zvezda*

July 15

Nadya dearest,

I am taking advantage of Krestinsky's visit to Perm to write to you. Maybe he will catch up with you.

Yesterday I received a telegram from Molotov in Kazan and answered him in time for you to get it before the vessel leaves Kazan, which should be, I am told, at 3 a.m.

I learned from Molotov that you did have a heart attack; that means that you are *overworking* yourself. You must stick strictly to the rules and obey the doctor's orders absolutely.

Otherwise you will not be able to work when winter comes. Don't forget that!

I have already wired you about affairs in the People's Commissariat of Education.

Things are going brilliantly on the Eastern Fronts. Today I learned of the capture of Yekaterinburg. In the south there has been a change, but there is still no serious turn for the better. I hope there will be.

I could not persuade Gorky to go, hard as I tried.

Yesterday and the day before I was in Gorki with Mitya (he has been here for four days) and Anya. The limes are in bloom. We had a good rest.

I embrace you fondly and kiss you. Please rest more and work less.

Yours,
V. Ulyanov

Written July 15, 1919

First published
in the Fourth Edition
of the *Collected Works*

Printed from
the original

271

TO HIS SISTER MARIA AND HIS WIFE

Maria Ilyinichna
and
Nadezhda Konstantinovna,

Please wake me not later than *10 o'clock* in the morning. It is now a quarter past four and I cannot sleep; I am quite well. If you do not wake me I shall lose another day tomorrow and shall not be keeping a proper regimen.

Written in 1919 or 1920

First published
in the Fourth Edition
of the *Collected Works*

Printed from
the original

1921

272

TO HIS SISTER MARIA

On the white table behind the bed in my room there are two books and two newspapers, all Italian.

1) Turati, *Trent'anni di Critica Sociale*
2) Troves, *Polemiche Socialiste*
3) *Stampa* } Italian
4) and *another* } newspaper.

Written 1921

First published in the Fourth Edition of the *Collected Works*

Printed from the original

ANNA ULYANOVA-YELIZAROVA
1921

1922

273

TO HIS SISTER ANNA

Dear Anyuta,

This is what happened. The book, it seems, is from the Socialist Academy, and it is *forbidden* to take books home from there.

They made an exception for me!

It created an awkward situation—my fault, of course. Now you must take the greatest care that Gora reads the book *quickly at home* and *returns* it.

If necessary I can arrange for it to be sought in *another place*—so that the book will become my property.

Yours,
V. U.

Written at the end of 1922

First published in 1957
in the magazine *Yunost* No. 1

Printed from
the original

274

TO HIS SISTER MARIA

Manyasha,

Please bring the *big* map of Moscow Gubernia. It is lying on top of the bookcase in our dining-room.

Yours,
V. I.

Written 1922
Sent from Gorki Leninskiye
(near Moscow)

First published
in the Fourth Edition
of the *Collected Works*

Printed from
the original

APPENDICES

I

ENTRIES CONCERNING LETTERS FROM LENIN TO HIS RELATIVES

(From the Files of the Moscow Gendarmerie)

During a search of the house of Lenin's sister Maria Ulyanova on the night of February 28, 1901, six letters from Lenin were seized and placed in her dossier as "material evidence". The files of the Moscow Gendarmerie (Dossier of the Moscow Group of the R.S.D.L.P., No. 69, Volume V, 1901, sheet 101)* contain the following entries concerning these letters.

1. A letter dated July 3, 1897, signed "Yours, *V. U.*" and beginning with the words "I have received your letter of June 16, dear Manyasha", was found in an envelope addressed to Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova (the mother of "Manyasha"). The letter contains a programme of Marxist studies, and among the source material mentioned are such Social-Democratic periodicals as *Vorwärts* and *Neue Zeit*.

2. A letter dated September 4, 1898, is signed "Yours, *V. U.*" but on the envelope the address of the sender is given as Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova. In this letter, which begins with the words "A few days ago, Mother dearest, I received your letter", the following phrases are outstanding: (1) "As for sending books to Sergei Ivanovich, I must say that I do not know where he is. Perhaps he is already in Sredne-Kolymsk"; (2) "Lyakhovsky wrote a few days ago—mostly about new exiles passing through Verkholensk"; (3) "Vas. Vas. (Starkov) is thinking of asking to be sent to Nizhneudinsk"; (4) "The Lepeshinskys are being moved to Kuraginskoye"; (5) "Apollinariya Alexandrovna wrote recently from Kazachinskoye".

3. A letter signed "*V. U.*", dated December 15, 1898, beginning with the words "I am sending Anyuta Y. M.'s letter which

* The dossier is now in the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, C.C., C.P.S.U.—*Ed.*

he sent me with a request that I despatch it immediately", in which the phrase quoted, and the initials "Y. M." in that phrase, are deserving of attention.

4. A letter dated June 14, 1899, signed "Yours, *V. U.*", begins with the words "This week there has been no news from home, Mother dearest"; the name of Prince Yegor Yegorovich Kugushev is mentioned in the letter; the author of the letter asks for a copy of his book on the development of capitalism to be sent to the aforementioned Kugushev.

5. A letter by the same author dated "August 18, 1900, Paris", addressed to M. A. Ulyanova; it contains the address: "M. Dr. Dubon, chez.... Pour M. Goukowsky, 8 Boulevard Capucines, Paris".

6. A letter dated "October 20, Prague", signed "*V. U.*", addressed to Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova; it contains the address: "Herrn Franz Modráček (for V. I.), Smečky, 27. Prag. Austria."

Attempts to find these letters have not so far met with any success; it is possible that they were destroyed in one of the fires that occurred in the early days of the February Revolution.

II
LETTERS WRITTEN BY NADEZHDA KRUPSKAYA

1898

1
TO LENIN'S MOTHER AND HIS SISTER MARIA

February 15, 1898

Dear Maria Alexandrovna,

Did not Anna Ilyinichna receive the letter I sent on February 8 or 9? I wrote in some detail about myself in that letter. The trouble is that I still do not know when the sentence will be pronounced; at the Ministry of Justice they told me that the case would be reported on in either the first or the second week of Lent. They also said that I have been sentenced to three years in Ufa Gubernia (the sentence is not to be changed), but that the Department can, on its own authority, permit me to spend the time I am under surveillance in Shushenskoye. The situation is thoroughly vague. After the sentence has been pronounced I shall probably have to remain in St. Petersburg a couple of weeks, so we may expect to leave during the third or fourth week of Lent. We shall stay in Moscow for two or three days and I shall write and let you know the day of arrival as soon as I know it, for certain. As far as Volodya's work* is concerned, I have been *definitely* promised that a publisher will be found; they say that censorship conditions in Moscow are very bad and that there is a risk of the book lying at the censor's for a long time; I have been advised to publish the book in summer, so that it appears in autumn, the most suitable time for the publication of a book of this type. Because of all this, I did not take the manuscript back but asked Anna Ilyinichna what she thought would be the best thing to do—I have not received an answer. In the meantime I have sent Volodya a translation from English (the editor says that it does not matter even if Volodya does not know English very well, he can translate from the German version

* The work referred to is Lenin's *Economic Studies and Essays*.—*Ed*.

and use the English only to check with); it is a very interesting translation and the pay is good. I do not know whether Volodya intended taking translations although I gathered from one of his letters that he did; in any case, there is nothing to worry about because I have been told that we may both translate, the book is a big one. I am terribly ignorant on the administrative side of literary work.

Mother has been suffering from pleurisy and, has not been out for about a month; today a new doctor is coming to examine her—the one who treated her before was very casual. Mother sends her very best regards to all.

Still, I think I shall be allowed to go to Shusha—what do they care?

Many kisses,
Your loving,
Nadya

February 15

Dear Manyasha,

I have written once to Anna Ilyinichna but she evidently has not received my letter. Bulochka, too, is scolding me for not writing and also without any reason! Of course, there is nothing to write about, nothing is definite, one thing today, another tomorrow, but I do write about essential things and I answer letters.

I have not seen Kuba and probably shall not see her before I leave. I had a letter from her saying that now she does not have to talk she feels wonderful. She studies a lot, is very glad about the Thursdays and sends, regards to all.

I shall probably get V. V. I have given Volodya's list to an acquaintance, who has promised to get everything except Lyudogovsky (it has long been out of print) and the journal on economics. I do not know whether he will get them although he is an expert at obtaining books. I want to get in a good stock of books but I do not know what to take. I have few books of my own and they are very ordinary, so I don't really know whether it is worth taking them—Volodya probably has them all anyway. It is not very easy to get books from acquaintances—and what should one get? In a couple of weeks I have to go and my stock of books is still pitifully small. In general we are being rather slack and quite unmethodical about preparing for the journey. People say we ought to take as many warm things as

possible.... It probably will not be long now before we start. Kiss A. I. and tell her it is not nice of her to give such accounts of me everywhere—to Volodya she wrote about my looking like a herring, to Bulochka she complained of my slyness.... Many kisses for you, dear. Thank Dmitry Ilyich for his congratulations. I hope his case is over by the summer. *Au revoir*!

N. Krupskaya

Sent from St. Petersburg to Moscow

First published in 1929 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 4

Printed from the original

2

TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA

March 6

I am sending Volodya's articles. I did not send them before because I was waiting for him to reply to the letter in which I wrote about censorship conditions. He asked me to make enquiries, and the result of my enquiries is that the place of publication is most important. In this respect, Moscow is worse than St. Petersburg because even the most innocent books are held up for a long time and then hacked about very badly. Bulgakov's book was held up for a year by the censor. It appears that Vodovozova has also transferred her publishing house to St. Petersburg. The *écrivain* insists that it would be extremely unwise to publish the book in Moscow. So that's that.

About my departure ... Manya dear, I know nothing at all. There is a lady from Minusinsk living here who says that I shall not be able to leave after the 10th or 12th without the risk of getting stuck on the way. I was hoping all along that the sentence would be pronounced on March 4 and we would be able to leave on the evening of the 10th. The sentence, however, has been postponed until the 11th (not definite either) and this is what they say in the Department: my request will "*probably* be taken into consideration", and *if* I am given permission to go to Siberia, it will not be before the sentence has been pronounced, and *perhaps* I shall be given permission to go straight from St. Petersburg and not from Ufa Gubernia (!). I am going to the Department again tomorrow. I certainly don't want my journey to be postponed until spring. I am in a great hurry today but tomorrow evening I will write to Anna Ilyinichna and tell her about my trip to the

Department. Tomorrow, while I am there, I shall ask to be allowed to see Kuba—it would be such a pity to go away without having seen her once.

Many kisses,
N. Krupskaya

You address letters wrongly to House 18, Apt. 35, it should be the other way round, House 35, Apt. 18.

Written March 6, 1898
Sent from St. Petersburg to Moscow
First published in 1931 in Lenin's *Letters to Relatives*
Printed from the original

3
TO LENIN'S MOTHER

Dear Maria Alexandrovna,

We have now reached Shushenskoye and I am keeping my promise to write and tell you how Volodya is looking. It seems to me he is a picture of health and looks very much better than he did in St. Petersburg. One of the local inhabitants, a Polish woman,* says, "Pan Ulyanov is always in a good mood". He is terribly taken up with the shooting, in fact they are all such enthusiastic sportsmen that I, too, will probably soon be on the constant look-out for duck, teal and other such creatures.

The journey to Shusha is not at all tiring, especially if there is no need to wait in Krasnoyarsk; it is even promised that in June the steamers will go right up to Shusha. That will make everything just right. So if you can manage a trip the journey will not be too bad. It seems to me that Shusha is very nice, the forest and river are near. I am not writing a lot because this is only a postscript to Volodya's letter.** He has probably written in much greater detail. In Minusinsk I went to enquire about the books; a letter from you and a notice about the receipt of a parcel had come, but the addressee cannot get them from Krasnoyarsk; things were set right that same evening and we sent a power of attorney to Krasnoyarsk and the books will be here in a day or two. Many thanks. Things turned out quite all right with

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* The wife of I. L. Prominsky.—*Ed.*
** See Letter No. 47.—*Ed.*

our innumerable bags and baggage, nothing was lost and people made room for us everywhere. Thanks, too, for the food. It lasted us for three days and it was much nicer than railway-station meals.... So here we are. They did put us ashore after all. Volodya is not satisfied with what I had to tell him about all of you. He says it is very little, but I told him all I knew. Kisses for all of you, regards to M. T. and D. I.

N. Krupskaya

Written May 10, 1898
Sent from St. Petersburg to Moscow
First published in 1931
in Lenin's *Letters to Relatives*
Printed from
the original

4
TO LENIN'S MOTHER

June 14

Dear Maria Alexandrovna,

Volodya is sitting here engaged in an earnest conversation with a miller about some houses and cows and things, so I am taking the opportunity of writing you a few lines. I do not know where to begin, one day is the same as another and there is nothing happening outside the family. I seem to have been living an age in Shusha and have become completely acclimatised. Shusha is a very nice place in summer. We go walking every evening. Mother does not go very far, but we sometimes set off for more distant places. In the evenings there is no humidity in the air and it's just right for walking. There are a lot of mosquitoes and we have made nets for ourselves but they seem to go out of their way to bite Volodya, although in general they are quite bearable. The famous "gun dog" accompanies us on our walks and spends all its time chasing birds, which always makes Volodya indignant. At this time of the year Volodya does not go shooting (he is not really such an enthusiastic sportsman), it is nesting time or something, and even his waders have been put away in the cellar. Instead of shooting Volodya tried his hand at fishing. A few times he crossed the Yenisei to fish for burbot at night but the last time he came back without so much as a tiddler, and since then there has been no more talk of burbot. Across the Yenisei it is just marvellous. We once went across there and had heaps of adventures of all kinds and everything was fine. It is hot nowadays. We have to walk quite

a long way to bathe. A plan for morning swimming has been elaborated for which we are to get up at 6 a.m. I do not know how long this will last, but today we went swimming. Altogether our life here follows the "standard" summer-cottage routine, only we have nothing for the house.

They feed us well here, we have all the milk we like and we are all flourishing. I have not yet got used to Volodya's healthy appearance, in St. Petersburg I was accustomed to seeing him in a permanently out-of-sorts condition. Zinochka even gasped when she saw him in Minusinsk. And you should see what she looks like—thank God. With Lirochka it's a different story. We were sent a photograph from St. Petersburg; it was taken the day after she was released and she looks simply terrible. Can she have changed so much? Sometimes I think they might send her to Shusha. That would be fine. In Shusha she might recover a little.

Well, I have given you a whole heap of gossip. In her last letter Manyasha asked about photographs. On the way here I wrote to St. Petersburg and asked them to send you my photograph (home production) but they must have forgotten. As regards photographs that are not home-made, I shall write to St. Petersburg and ask them to go to the photographer's and order a few more pictures of me, and that they certainly will not refuse to do. I should very much like you and Manya to come to visit us here. There is still time for it. Give D. I. my regards. Volodya has finished talking to the miller and has already written two letters and I still cannot wind up my gossip.

Good-bye for now and many kisses. Mother sends regards to all. It is useless sending regards through Volodya, he thinks they should be taken for granted. Nevertheless I send many kisses to Manya and Anyuta and regards to M. T.

Yours,
N. Kr.

Written June 14, 1898
Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

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in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 4

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5

TO LENIN'S SISTER ANNA

August 9, 1898

It gave Volodya great satisfaction to read out to me all the reproaches that you have written about me. Well, I admit that I am guilty but deserving of leniency.

Today Volodya finished his "markets",* now he has only to cut it down and the job is done. In a few days, too, Webb will come safely to an end. Less than a half is left to be checked. I think the translation turned out all right in the end.

Another box of books for Volodya—among them Adam Smith, philosophy and two books of yours by Ada Negri—has arrived addressed to Madame Friedmann. She looked like raising a real storm but the outcome is that the books have been received, put on the shelves and catalogued. Volodya from time to time looks lovingly at the philosophy and dreams of the time when he will be able to wallow in it.

I received a letter from Lirochka yesterday, such a cheerful one, describing her life at Kazachinskoye. There are ten exiles there, most of whom live in a commune; they have their own vegetable garden, a cow and a meadow and live in one big house. Lira says she enjoys her freedom, goes picking berries and haymaking, does some housekeeping and never looks at a book. She proposes spending the summer in this way and then leaving the commune in autumn and settling down to work. It was a long and lively letter and I am very glad for her sake, she is at least getting a rest.

Life here goes on as usual and there is no news of any kind. Volodya has been busy all the time, although occasionally he has been snipe shooting. They had intended going somewhere after snipe today but the wind has been howling mercilessly for several days, day and night. There is no rain but just this raging wind.

We are [eating] . . . . . bottling rasp[berries]...** in spirit, salting cucumbers—everything is as it should be, just as in Russia. We once bought some water melons but, as was to be expected, they turned out absolutely white without

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* Lenin's book *The Development of Capitalism in Russia.—Ed.*

** The dotted line indicates part of the letter cut out together with names on the other side of the page. The last syllable of the verb in the Russian has been cut away, so the sense might have been "We are [going]...."—*Ed.*

the faintest suggestion of red flesh. We have also tried cedar nuts.

Volodya is thinking of going into the taiga for a couple of days; he wants to see what the taiga is like, gather berries and cones and shoot hazel grouse. There has been a lot of talk about the taiga, and it is much more interesting than the talk about ducks.

That, I think, is all there is to tell about us.

When is Manya leaving for Brussels? I am glad for her sake. I have written a letter to [Anna Ivanovna Meshcheryakova] (the former [Chechurina]),* our schoolteacher and my very good friend. She will be living in Liege—the only thing I am afraid of is that she has left already and my letter will be too late.

And so good-bye; many kisses for you, Manya and Maria Alexandrovna. Regards to M. T. Mother sends regards to all—she has been feeling poorly lately. All the best.

Nadya

Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

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6

TO LENIN'S MOTHER

Dear Maria Alexandrovna,

A telegram about the release of D. I. eventually arrived with the last post. The post came when our place was full of visitors. During the past few days we have been subjected to an invasion of "aliens", some from Minusinsk, some from places round about—people of very different character. They brought discord into our peaceful life and towards the end we were growing a little bit crazy. The various "farm" discussions about horses, cows, pigs, etc., really wore us out. Everyone here is interested in farm life—even we acquired half a horse (one of the local residents hired a horse from the *volost* and we wanted to buy the fodder for it so as to be able to use it as much as we wanted), but our half horse turned out to be such a worn-out nag that it took an hour and a half to drag us three versts and we had to give it back; and so our efforts in this field turned out a fiasco. We do, however, gather mushrooms with great zeal, there are lots of saffron milk-cap and milk agaric

* The names in square brackets were cut out for secrecy.—*Ed.*

mushrooms here. At first Volodya announced that he did not know how to gather mushrooms and did not like it, but now you cannot drag him out of the forest, he gets real "mushroom fever". Next year we intend to have a vegetable garden and Volodya has already agreed to dig the seedbeds. That will be physical exercise for him. Up to now he has been enthusiastic only about his shooting. Right now he is arming himself for the hunt. He shoots grey-hen and we eat them and praise them. I do not think our "manor house" will be very cold. A clerk lived here before us and said it was all right, warm. In any ease we are taking all the necessary precautions—we have ordered some felt, we are sealing the windows up carefully, are piling up earth round the bottom of the house, etc. We have a stove in every room, so we do not expect it to be very cold. Well, that's enough gossip. I embrace you fondly, I am awfully glad for D. I.'s sake and for yours. Give him my very best regards. Many kisses for Anya and Manya. Mother sends best regards to all. She is gradually being drawn into Shushenskoye life and is not so bored now as she was at first.

Yours,
Nadya

Written August 26, 1898
Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

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the original

7
TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA

September 11, 1895

Today I am going to write an enormously long letter; Volodya has gone off to Krasnoyarsk and the place seems empty without him, the "regime" has changed. As there is suddenly nothing to do this evening the best thing is to scribble a letter. I can run on about this and that for any length of time, but that is all it will be—just "this and that".

Today, dear Manya, I got your long, long letter, and Volodya received a postcard from Tula, I suppose from D. I. I have put it in his desk. I imagine it must be boring for D. I. to hang about in Tula and, in general, his present state of uncertainty is not of the pleasantest and in a strange town it is particularly miserable; but the worst is

over, that endless "sit-down at Azov".* By now D. I. may perhaps be in Podolsk ... in any case the question has probably been settled.

We are having a marvellous autumn, except that in the early morning it is cold and at night there are frosts. Because of this Volodya has taken all his warm things with him—a warm cap, winter coat, mittens and warm socks. He put in a request about his teeth a long time ago; now his toothache has gone and permission has come for him to spend a week in Krasnoyarsk. At first Volodya thought he would not go, but then he yielded to temptation. I am very glad that he will be making this trip, it will liven him up and he will be seeing people—he was vegetating here in Shusha. He was also glad to be going. The day before he left not a single book was opened. I spent all my time repairing his winter equipment, while he sat on the windowsill talking excitedly and giving me all sorts of advice—to have the double windows put in properly, to keep the door well locked (he even borrowed a saw from our landlord and set about sawing a piece off the door to make it fasten more easily. In general, he has been worrying a lot about our safety—he has persuaded Oscar to come to us to sleep and he has been teaching me how to use a revolver. He slept badly that night but when I woke him up in the morning—that was when the coachman was already here—he was so cheerful he began singing a song of triumph. I do not know whether he will be pleased with the trip. He couldn't resist taking a mountain of books with him—five of the fattest tomes—and intends to make notes in the Krasnoyarsk library in addition to that. I hope the books will remain unread. When in Krasnoyarsk Volodya is under an obligation to buy for himself two caps, linen for his shirts, a sheepskin greatcoat for family use, skates, etc. I wanted to order him to buy material for a blouse for Prominsky's daughter but since Volodya went to Mother to find out how many "pounds" of cloth to buy for a blouse he had to be relieved of that onerous duty. I have received a short note from Volodya sent from Minusinsk; although he grumbles at having to wait for a steamer I gathered that the journey is beginning satisfactorily.

During Volodya's absence I Intend: (1) to carry out full repairs to his suits; (2) learn to pronounce English, for which I have to learn by heart 12 pages of various exceptions in Nurok's book; (3) finish

FROM MARX TO MAO NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

* Don and Zaporozhye Cossacks were besieged in the fort of Azov in 1641; they "sat" in the fort for over a year before abandoning it to the Turks.—*Ed.*

reading an English book I have started. And then do some general reading. Volodya and I began to read *The Agitator* ("For Nadya" is written on *The Agitator* in Anya's hand and I keep intending to thank her for it, but so far have done nothing but intend) and we have been tormented by English pronunciation, so now I have promised him to learn Nurok by heart. These days I am doing the cooking. Mother has an awful cold in the head which has developed into a severe chill, so I am running the show. Mother has become quite used to Shushenskoye and in her letters describes the wonderful Shushenskoye autumn. Before Volodya left we all went with him on a shoot for grey-hen. The season is now open for grey-hen and partridge. They are noble birds—you don't have to crawl in swamps for them like you do for ducks and things. But no matter how many times we went out we never saw either a grey-hen or a partridge, but still the walks were fine. By the way, we once saw about twenty partridge; we were riding on a cart, all the Shushenskoye colony, when suddenly a whole flock of them rose from both sides of the road; you can imagine what our sportsmen were like. Volodya actually groaned. Still, he managed to take aim, but the partridge simply walked away without even bothering to fly. Altogether that was a sorrowful shoot; we didn't kill anything, though Oscar shot Jenny in the eyes and we thought the dog would be blinded, but she recovered. Jenny is awfully miserable without Volodya, she keeps close to me all the time and barks for no good reason.

You see what nonsense I am writing because there is nothing happening outside the family. That is why Volodya writes about one and the same thing in his letters—when things outside are so monotonous one completely loses one's sense of time. Volodya and I once got to the state when we could not remember whether V. V. had visited us three days or ten days before. We had to adduce a whole series of arguments to settle the issue. We only just managed it. Volodya intended writing home from Minusinsk, so some parts of my letter will probably be repeated. Perhaps not, though. Mine is a purely feminine letter, not much in it. I recently received a letter from the writer's wife, who writes that she is reading the proofs of Volodya's book,* she had the seventh signature at the time. She was afraid there would not be ten signatures in the book—there is a new law about the

* N. A. Struve read the first part of the proofs of the symposium *Economic Studies and Essays.—Ed.*

number of letters to a signature. If not, Karyshev* can be shoved in, too; it would be a good idea, except that the book will be held up. We are expecting it any day. Volodya hopes to finish the "markets" by the New Year, but he is rather doubtful about it. And that's that. I have received Maria Alexandrovna's letter of August 10 and for some reason was particularly glad to have it. Many kisses for her.

By the time you receive my letter you will probably be getting ready to leave. I wish you every success. There was a time when I very much wanted to go to Belgium. Perhaps I shall feel like going abroad again, just to take a look at the wide world—when that is possible. But for the time being it is not to be thought of. I suppose you will wait for Anya, won't you? When did she expect to get back? [Meshcheryakova]** is a very fine person, a bit wild, but amazingly forthright and good. It is time to stop. Again, many kisses for you and Maria Alexandrovna from me and Mother.

Yours,
N.

Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

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8
TO LENIN'S MOTHER

September 27

Today I am again writing instead of Volodya, dear Maria Alexandrovna. Volodya returned from Krasnoyarsk late in the evening the day before yesterday; two of Manya's letters were awaiting him and he intended to sit down and write a letter home, but first thing in the morning Oscar and Prominsky came to entice him away shooting at a place called Aganitov Island where, according to them, hares run around in thousands and flocks of grey-hen and partridge fill the air. Volodya began by hesitating but in the end yielded to temptation; by the way, it is a wonderful day today. In general this autumn has

* Lenin's article was entitled "On the Question of our Factory Statistics (Professor Karyshev's New Statistical Exploits)", *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, pp. 13-45.—*Ed.*

** The name was cut out for purposes of secrecy.—*Ed.*

been a good one except for a week or so when it was cold. Altogether, Volodya was pleased with his trip to Krasnoyarsk. He has probably written that he went to Krasnoyarsk with Elvira Ernestovna and Tonechka because E. E. had injured her liver and was quite ill.* We thought she had cancer or an abscess of the liver but fortunately it was neither, only a blow. And all she has to do is look after herself. They came back with Volodya. E. E. was in hospital in Krasnoyarsk and Volodya lived at Krasikov's. He saw lots of people in Krasnoyarsk, had plenty of talks and played about ten games of chess. One of the people now living temporarily in Krasnoyarsk is very likely to be sent to the village of Yermakovskoye, about 40 versts from us. He is a chess player and a very interesting conversationalist—Volodya made his acquaintance in Krasnoyarsk. I should very much like him to be sent there. We could visit each other, 40 versts is no great distance. Volodya travelled as far as Minusinsk (the steamer took five days to crawl there) with Lepeshinskaya, the wife of an exile who lives in Kazachinskoye. She has been given a job as nurse in the village of Karaginskoye, also not far from here, and her husband is joining her. He is a chess player, too. Lepeshinskaya told Volodya that Lirochka is in a state of nerves and irritable, lives in the commune and does the cooking every other week. They have three women there, one of them bakes bread and the others take turns at cooking. The day before yesterday I had a letter from Lirochka and she seems to be thoroughly fed up with the life of the colony; she writes that she is glad when she is alone and can do something. It turned out that the tooth of Volodya's that ached was not the one he had been trying to pull out but another, and this the Krasnoyarsk dentist duly pulled. Volodya found the way back home deadly boring although he had mustered quite a pile of books in addition to the masses he took from home. He did not want to stop in Minusinsk and did not even hand his travel permit in to the chief of police. In Krasnoyarsk he bought a long sheepskin coat. It is intended actually for me but in reality it will be a family coat for travelling and distant excursions. It cost twenty rubles and is so delightfully soft that once you are inside it you don't want to get out of it again. In general he bought everything he was supposed to, even toys for Prominsky's children and for Minya, the son of the felt-boot maker who lives next door. The lad is about five years old and often trots in to see us. The morning he heard that Volodya was back, he snatched hold of his mother's boots and began

* See Lenin's Letter No. 55.—*Ed.*

pulling them on. "Where are you off to?" "Don't you know Vladimir Ilyich has come back?" "You'll get in his way, don't go...," "Oh no, Vladimir Ilyich likes me!" (Volodya really is fond of him.) Yesterday, when we gave him the horse Volodya had brought from Krasnoyarsk for him, he was so taken with Volodya that he would not even go home to sleep but lay down on the mat with Jenny. An amusing lad!

At last we have engaged a servant, a fifteen-year-old girl, for two and a half rubles a month+boots; she is coming on Tuesday and that will be the end of our independent housekeeping. We have got in supplies of everything we can for winter. We still have to put the double windows in, although it is a pity to seal ourselves in when it is so fine outside! Mother is gradually being drawn into Shushenskoye affairs, she keeps well and is not bored. Thank Manyasha for the letter; of course I shall write to her abroad, too. I wonder how she will get fixed up there. It is a pity it is inconvenient for her to travel with the Meshcheryakovs, they are excellent people, Anna especially. We have received the German Zola and are going to start reading it. We shall now be receiving *Frankfurter Zeitung*. It will be sent from St. Petersburg and Volodya intends subscribing to some English newspaper. Why is there not a sound about Volodya's book? It will be a pity if it doesn't come out. The review of Karyshev's book should be sent to St. Petersburg, perhaps there are not ten printer's signatures and that is the reason for the delay. Well, that's enough gossip. Many, many kisses for you and Manyasha from me and Volodya. Mother sends best regards. When is Anya arriving?

Yours,
Nadya

Last time I forgot to write that we have received Bios. Does it have to be sent on?

It is strange that no letter from Volodya came with the Karyshev review. I remember that he wrote a letter at the time.*

Written September 27, 1898
Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

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* See Letter No. 54.—*Ed.*

9
TO LENIN'S MOTHER

October 14

Dear Maria Alexandrovna,

Immediately Volodya had left for Krasnoyarsk I wrote you a detailed letter and did the same on his return from there. You have probably received both those letters. Well all that is a matter of the past. It is winter here now, our River Shush is frozen hard, we have had some snow but it has disappeared. It is quite cold (five below), which has not prevented Volodya going off to the island all day to shoot hares, although so far this year he has not yet managed to dispose of a single hare. He is warmly dressed and it will not do him any harm to get a breath of fresh air; he has recently been buried in his "markets" up to the ears, writing from dawn to dusk. The first chapter is ready now and it seemed very interesting to me. I play at being the "un-understanding reader" and am supposed to judge whether the exposition of the "markets" is sufficiently clear; I try to be as "un-understanding" as possible, but there is not much I can find fault with. It is awfully strange that we have not yet heard a word from the *écrivain* about the book, we think it has fallen through. Lately the post has been pretty miserable. Yesterday we had a good laugh; there was nothing in the post except newspapers, and Mother began to accuse the postman of mischievously hiding letters, our friends of being utterly selfish, us of giving him too few tips; and then she said we grudged money for the postman but otherwise wasted it. Why did we go to see Kurnatovsky the day before yesterday? We only interrupted his work and ate his dinner. In the end we all started laughing and got rid of the unpleasant feeling we always get when there is not much in the post. We did once go to see Kurnatovsky,* who works at a sugar refinery about twenty versts from here. It was on a Sunday and, although it was cold, the sun was shining in a clear blue sky and away we went. We were dressed in all our winter things, Volodya was in his winter coat and felt boots and they wrapped me in the "family" sheepskin, so that I was covered from head to foot. Kurnatovsky proved to be terribly busy, has no holidays and works 12 hours a day. We really did take him away from his work (but that was good for him) and we really did eat his dinner, too. We looked

* They made the journey on October 11, 1898.—*Ed.*

over the sugar refinery, the director was unusually attentive to the "important foreigners" (although Volodya in his felt boots and quilted trousers looked like the giant from Hop-o'-My-Thumb and the wind had made my hair stand on end); he tried to justify the rotten conditions in which the workers have to work, turned the talk to that subject himself and extended his kindness so far that, despite his elegant and prosperous appearance, he rushed to give Volodya a stool to sit on and himself brushed the dust from it. I almost burst out laughing. In a month's time Kurnatovsky is coming to us on a visit and perhaps Bazil and Tonechka will also manage to call in some day. I do not know whether Volodya told you that Bazil and Gleb are asking to be transferred to Nizhne-Udinsk, where they have been offered jobs as engineers. We now use the Minusinsk library through the people in Tesinskoye, although the library is a very poor one. Anyway, we have enough books. Anyuta once asked me what I am doing. I am busy on a popular booklet that I want to write, but still do not know how it will turn out.* That, so to say, is my chief occupation and in addition I do whatever else comes along—study English, read, write letters, take an interest in Volodya's work, go for walks, stitch on buttons.... We are now living like real householders; we have piled stable manure round the bottom of the walls outside our house, put in the double windows, made a wonderful little window that opens to air the rooms, planted a garden beside the house and put a fence round it. We have hired a girl who helps Mother with the housework and does all the dirty work. Thank you, dear Maria Alexandrovna, for your offer to send us underwear and household utensils. We do not need any clothes, before we left for Shushenskoye we overhauled our things very thoroughly and as far as household utensils are concerned, we brought some things with us from St. Petersburg and all we need are such kitchen utensils as beaters, tongs, fire irons and similar items. Volodya also has everything he needs; at one time he had no nightshirts but he bought some material in Krasnoyarsk and now they are ready, but for I don't know how many days he has been unable to find time to try them on. Volodya is always wondering where I get sufficient material for long letters; in his letters he writes only about things of general human interest, while I write about all the little things.... I am still in debt to Anyuta, I have not answered a letter of hers, but tell her not to grumble and not to count letters.

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* This appears to refer to Krupskaya's *Zhenshchina-Rabotnitsa* (The Working Woman), a book she wrote while in Shushenskoye.—*Ed.*

How are you all? Has Manya left? Was she very excited at leaving? Did she go alone or with the Meshcheryakovs? How has D. I.'s affair turned out? Has he received permission to live in Podolsk? Are Anyuta and M. T. pleased with their journey? But I could keep on asking questions till tomorrow. Regards to everyone and many kisses for you and Anyuta. Mother sends best regards. Volodya can write himself. Again many kisses.

Yours,
Nadya

What is Manya's address?

Written October 14, 1898
Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

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10
TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA

November 11, 1898

We are today still feeling the excitement caused by yesterday's post. Yesterday we saw a boy from the volost centre climbing over our fence with a huge bundle. It proved to be our post, which was of such dimensions that it had to be brought from town wrapped in a sheepskin coat to make sure it was all delivered intact. It was not letters, of course, only books, but sometimes it is surprisingly pleasant to receive books. How are you keeping? Have you made many friends and, in general, do you still like Brussels? I used to receive enthusiastic letters from Meshcheryakov, who was greatly attracted by life in Belgium. Sometimes when I read a letter of his I longed to see how people lived out in the wide world. By the way, you probably get quite a lot of pleasure out of various folk choruses. They say the singing in Belgium is very fine. Gleb paid us a visit and one evening he and Volodya sang a little. I thought about you and thought how you would be listening to the Belgians. Gleb stayed four days with us. He came without Zina because Elvira Ernestovna was ill and could not be left. They went shooting but Gleb spent most of the time reading the first two chapters of the "markets". You think the "markets" are finished, do you? Nothing of the sort.

The book will not be finished until February. Volodya writes all the time from dawn to dusk and has practically no time left for anything else.

Many kisses from me and from Mother.

All the best,

Yours,

Nadya

Sent from Shushenskoye to Brussels

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11

TO LENIN'S SISTER ANNA

November 22

A. I.

It is quite a while since I wrote "home", as I put it. Today, as usual, I an going to chatter about this and that, only I don't know where to begin, I have forgotten what I wrote last time. The most outstanding event in our life recently was, of course, the arrival of *Studies and Essays*. We waited and waited and then gave it up; the day before the post came Volodya asked pessimistically what in particular we could hope for in the post. Then one grey morning we saw a boy from the volost centre clambering over our fence with a huge bundle of something; it turned out to be tremendous numbers of the *Studies* wrapped in the volost sheepskin.... Our mood soon changed. In his joy Volodya almost agreed to go to a wedding at the Matovs' (local Jewish shopkeepers for whom Volodya has a special antipathy because of their importunate ways).... But that was all a long time ago. Volodya has now buried himself resolutely and irrevocably in his "markets", grudges time for anything else, we have not been to the Prominskys for several months, he asks me to wake him at 8 o'clock in the morning, or at half past seven, but my efforts are usually fruitless, he gives a couple of grunts, pulls the clothes over his head and goes to sleep again. Last night he argued in his sleep about some Mr. N.—on and natural economy.... The other thing that keeps him busy, apart from the "markets", is the skating rink. On the initiative of Volodya and Oscar a skating rink has been cleared on the river near our house; the schoolmaster and some other locals helped.

Volodya skates beautifully and even keeps his hands in the pockets of his grey jacket like a thorough-going sportsman. Oscar skates badly and very carelessly, and so he is always falling. I cannot skate at all; they have fixed up a chair around which I do my best (by the way I have only been out twice and have achieved some success) and the schoolmaster is still waiting for his skates to come. We are a free spectacle for the local public; they are amazed at Volodya and amused at Oscar and me, and, all the time they keep ruthlessly cracking nuts and throwing the shells on our precious rink. Jenny thoroughly disapproves of the rink, she prefers running about the farmyard, burrowing in the snow with her nose and bringing Volodya all sorts of curiosities, like old horseshoes. Mother is afraid of the skating rink. There was one very fine day when we dragged her out for a walk; the ice on the river was wonderful, so transparent. We walked on the ice and Mother slipped and gave her head such a bang that it bled. Since then she has been more afraid of the ice than ever. Mother is displeased with Volodya; recently he mistook grey-hen for goose, ate it and praised it—a fine goose, not too fat. Oh yes, there is one other amusement. We intend going to the town at Christmas and Volodya is making some chessmen to be ready for the time when he will engage in a life and death struggle with Lepeshinsky. Volodya is carving the chessmen from bark, usually in the evenings when he has "written himself to a standstill". Sometimes he asks my advice—what sort of head to give the king or what should the queen's waist be like. I have only the very faintest conception of chess, I mix the knight with the bishop, but I give my advice boldly and the chessmen are turning out splendid. However, I have begun to write all sorts of nonsense. Many kisses for you and Maria Alexandrovna and my best regards to the male part of the family. Mother sends best regards to all.

Today the sun is shining so brightly in a beautiful blue sky, it will be excellent on the skating rink. However, good-bye for now.

Nadya

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12

TO LENIN'S MOTHER

January 10, 1899

Dear Maria Alexandrovna,

Many thanks for the letter and the parcel. We have not received it yet because we have a new postman and the registered mail has been held up. The postman tried to be stand-offish and did not want to take power of attorney to receive correspondence, but now everything has been arranged. We thoroughly enjoyed ourselves during the holidays in Minusinsk and had a break that will last us for a long time. At Christmas almost the whole district was in town, so we saw the New Year in very pleasantly at a big party. When the company broke up everyone was saying "A wonderful New Year's party!" The main thing was the splendid mood. We mulled some wine; when it was ready we put the hands of the clock at "12" and saw the old year out in proper style, everybody sang whatever he could and some fine toasts were pronounced—we drank "To Mothers", "To Absent Friends", and so on, and in the end danced to a guitar. One of the comrades draws well and he has promised to draw some of the outstanding scenes of the New Year's party. If he keeps his promise you will get a very good idea of our New Year's eve. Altogether it was a real holiday. Volodya battled on the chessboard from morning till evening and ... won all the games, of course; then we went skating (a pair of Mercury skates was sent to Volodya as a gift from Krasnoyarsk and on these you can cut figures and do all sorts of tricks. I, too, have some new skates, but I skate as badly on the new ones as on the old, or rather I do not skate but strut like a chicken, the art is a little too much for me!), sang in chorus and even went driving in a troika. We wore out our hosts completely! They admitted that another day of it and they would have taken to their beds. E. E. looks much better than she did in St. Petersburg despite her illness (she cannot eat meat or bread at all). She is very pleased with the way their family has taken shape and is afraid only of returning to Russia. There is nothing to be said in praise of the others. Tonechka looks particularly bad—she suffers from anaemia and eczema. Even Zina has grown thin and nervous. They all gasped and expressed astonishment at our healthy rustic appearance, and E. E. even declared that I am fatter than Zinochka. Mother did not go away with us for the holidays

and was pretty miserable. They have all announced their intention of coming to us in Shushenskoye for Shrovetide. All of us, the Shushenskoye public, including Oscar and Prominsky, dream of the arrival of the visitors and have already decided who will stay with whom, what treat we can best arrange for them, etc.

However, it is still a long time to Shrovetide and we have returned to our normal occupations and have cleared the skating rink; Volodya is hurrying with his "markets". I have received Anya's letter of December 24 but shall not write a separate letter to her because I would only have to write the same things; there is one little note for her. She is indignant that I give my letters to Volodya to "edit", but in most cases I describe our Shushenskoye life in humorous terms and Volodya comes in for a lot of badinage in them; I would not write such letters if I did not give them to him to read before I send them off.

One of the letters I received from the *écrivain*'s wife* informed me that two of her letters to us had gone astray. A pity! About my photograph. Last spring I asked for a family photograph that you liked to be sent to you. Apparently my request was not fulfilled. I am now going to write for my latest pictures to be ordered and sent to Podolsk. I do not know if I should have recognised D. I. if I had met him in the street, in some other, more suitable circumstances. Perhaps I should. By the way, Vasily Vasilyevich has started reading Blos and has taken it to the factory and asked us to leave it with him for a while, and Zinaida Pavlovna was going to write to her sister in Tula and ask her to send her Blos to Podolsk. That's that. I must stop. I embrace you and Anya fondly and send regards to all. So does Mother.

Yours,
Nadya

Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

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* This refers to N. A. Struve, wife of P. B. Struve.—*Ed.*

13

TO LENIN'S MOTHER

Dear Maria Alexandrovna,

Many thanks for the parcel, the only thing is that you are spoiling us too much. On the whole I must admit I have a very sweet tooth and in self-defence I say that my "organism requires it" (I have to say something). By the way, I am now converting Volodya to my faith. I feed him sweets regularly, every day after dinner and after supper, and every time he says it's "outrageous", but eats them and enjoys them. Although we do have enough consuming capacity, we intend leaving some of the sweets for Shrovetide, when we shall be having guests and shall provide the feast of feasts. Here I must stop. I embrace you fondly. Kisses for Anya and regards to all.

Yours,
Nadya

Written January 17, 1899
Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

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14

TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA

January 24

Dear Manya,

You are probably thinking that I am a faithless creature—promised to write and then ... not a word. If the truth be told, you ought to be scolding me. I intended writing long ago, but kept on putting It off. First of all, let me tell you how we spent Christmas. We had a wonderful time. All the people from the district came into town, most of them for three or four days. There are very few of us in Shushenskoye and it was very pleasant to be among people. We now know everybody in the district. We had a real festive time—went skating. I was laughed at, but since Minusinsk I have made progress. Volodya learned a lot of figures in Minusinsk and he now amazes the Shushenskoye public with his "giant steps" and "Spanish leaps". Another amusement was chess. People played literally from morning to night. Only Zina and I did not play. But even I caught the infection and played once against a poor player and checkmated him. Then we

sang, in Polish and Russian. V. V. has a guitar and so we sang to guitar accompaniment. We also did some reciting and talked to our heart's content. Best of all was our New Year's party (Volodya, incidentally, was tossed, it was the first time I had seen that performance and I had a good laugh). We are expecting visitors here at Shrovetide. I do not know whether they will come, but I hope they do. I cannot say that the Minusinsk people look well; Tonechka has awful anaemia and she is terribly thin and pale. Zina has also grown thinner but the worst thing is that she has become extremely nervous; the male side is also weak. Gleb kept lying down, first on the sofa, then on the bed. On top of everything, we wore our hosts out completely. Towards the end of the holidays they were having 10 to 16 people to dinner every day. They themselves admitted that if they had had another day of it they would have collapsed. Mother did not go with us, she was afraid of the cold.

After Minusinsk we returned to our usual occupations. Volodya got down to his "markets". He is now writing the last chapter and the book will be ready by February. I got a letter from the *écrivain*'s wife in the last post. The letter was a jubilant one. The new journal *Nachalo* has been sanctioned, permission for it came quite unexpectedly and the fuss and bother going on there now is something terrible. The letter makes you feel how excited the people there are. She writes, by the way, that the Webb translation is very good, and that it will soon be out. Nice to know. We are having a marvellous steady winter. So far there has not been a suggestion of the terrible Siberian frosts, the sun shines as if it were spring and we are already talking about how the winter passed without our noticing it (although it has by no means passed). How are you getting on there? It seems that you count the letters you get and don't write very often yourself. That's not the way. Do you see much of Belgian life? In general, do you like what you have seen of it? But do write more often and I will try to be more punctual. Mother sends her kisses. When will you be going home? You have probably become a real Frenchwoman. I am jealous in advance of your knowledge of the language, how I would like to know even one foreign language thoroughly.

Good-bye and all the best.

Nadya

Written January 24, 1899
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15
TO LENIN'S MOTHER

April 4

Dear Maria Alexandrovna,

A couple of weeks ago I wrote to you and, as usual, filled up the letter with all sorts of nonsense. Nothing has changed here, we are all well, and it is warm outside—the temperature reaches 17° and there are dry patches in the fields; we take long walks and we have seen two wild geese and a drake. Volodya has bought himself new waders for shooting excursions, almost to the waist, reads outside in the garden, and goes about in a summer coat, and I recently dug a little ditch wearing no coat at all; I am now thinking seriously of vegetable and flower gardening and pondering deeply over a booklet on the subject sent me by Gleb. As far as my health is concerned I am quite well but as far as concerns the arrival of a little bird—there the situation is, unfortunately, bad; somehow no little bird wants to come. You ask me whether our quarters are big. The apartment is a big one and, if you come—which we would very, very much like—there will be plenty of room for everybody. I remember that I once sent you a plan of the apartment—I am not sure, though, perhaps I only intended sending it. It consists of three rooms, one with four windows, one with three and the other with one. It is true the apartment has one disadvantage—the rooms are all adjoining, but since we are all of one family that does not worry us much. Volodya and I are thinking of giving you the room we now live in (the one with three windows) and we will move into the middle one; our present room has the advantage that no one has to go through it to get to another room. However, we shall see. The main thing is that you should be well enough to travel here, my dear; we shall always be able to find room for you. If you come in May, the journey on the steamer will be a good one. We came on the first boat when the countryside was bare, but even then it was beautiful; I think it should be a pleasant journey in summer. The railway journey, however, is very tiring. I believe Volodya has written that the people in Minusinsk have changed their minds about spending the summer in Shushenskoye and have rented a cottage near the town, the only one in the district. Do you like bathing? Our bathing place is some distance away—about 20 minutes' walk. I know Anya likes to bathe. I remember I once came to visit you at Beloostrov and Anya and I went bathing in the rain.

We have received *Nachalo* from town and Volodya is highly indignant over Bulgakov's article and is already thinking out a reply to it. We had to wait quite a long time for that *Nachalo*. At first I thought the postman had lost the post. He is an awful muddler, that postman of ours—loses a newspaper, forgets to hand over a receipt or takes letters to the wrong address. I am always cursing him under my breath with all the Siberian swearwords. But enough of that. This letter will probably arrive just in time for Easter. Although Volodya objects, I intend to colour some eggs and make an Easter cake from curds. Do you know that it is the custom here at Easter to decorate the room with spruce boughs? It is a very pretty custom and we intend to "keep" it (I nearly wrote "keep it up", but then remembered that next Easter we shall be in Russia again). Mikh. Al. and Kurnatovsky may visit us. Good-bye. Many kisses for you and Anya. Regards to all, from Mother as well.

Yours,
Nadya

Written April 4, 1899
Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

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16

TO LENIN'S MOTHER

June 20

It is ages since I wrote to you, dear Maria Alexandrovna. Somehow I could not get down to writing, especially as I thought you might still be coming here. Now I don't want to put off my letter-writing any longer. We are all the same as ever. Volodya is busy reading all kinds of philosophy (that is now his official occupation)—Holbach, Helvétius, etc. My joke is that it will soon be dangerous to talk to him because he has soaked up so much philosophy. There is no shooting for the time being and the famous gun is scarcely ever taken out of its cover. We go for our daily walk and swim regularly, we pick sorrel, berries, etc., and Volodya gathers everything with the enthusiasm of a hunter; I was surprised one day to see him tearing up sorrel with both hands.... There has been a lot of talk about shooting expeditions; the places they intend to go to—some place called

Forty Lakes, where there is so much game they will need a cart to bring it home, and so on. All that will be after St. Peter's Day,* and we intend going to Minusinsk at that time, probably on the steamer; we have already received permission. We had visitors recently; first there was Anatoly and his wife, and then Lepeshinsky and his wife and three-months-old daughter. Anatoly looks very bad, he is not likely to get better and his wife is completely broken, such a quiet little thing. Even the favourable climate here can no longer help Anatoly. The Lepeshinskys filled our apartment with hubbub—the baby's cries, lullabies, etc.—the two days they were here. They have a fine little girl, but the two parents are so fond of her they don't give her a moment's rest—they sing, dance and pester her all the time. No new people have been sent here and since summer began Oscar and Prominsky have been putting in an appearance less often, both of them are busy in the vegetable garden. Mother and 1 have planted a lot of things (even melon and tomatoes) and we have been eating our own radishes, lettuce and dill for a long time. The flower garden is also in bloom, there are blossoms on the mignonette, and the others (stocks, sweet peas, daisies, pansies and phlox) will be blooming in the more or less distant future; the garden gives Mother pleasure, too. The girl who worked for us last winter is staying on this summer, so the housekeeping is no bother. Since only seven months remain before we leave, the talk often turns to the subject of Russia and Volodya intended writing to you about our plans in that direction. How are you keeping? Have you got rid of your fever, and Anyuta of her cough? I have not answered Anyuta's letter but she should not be angry as I had intended having a good chat with her when we met. It is a great pity you are not coming here, but it is not long before we return to Russia and if we get away from here at the proper time we shall be home in Russia by February. Then you will see how Volodya's health has improved in Shushenskoye; you cannot compare him with what he was in St. Petersburg. I embrace you fondly, my dear—keep well. Many kisses for Anyuta and Manyasha, regards to M. T. and D. I. Mother sends regards to all.

Yours,

Nadya

Written June 20, 1899
Sent from Shushenskoye to Podolsk

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* July 12, N.S.—*Ed.*

17
TO LENIN'S MOTHER

July 3

Dear Maria Alexandrovna,

Yesterday I received your letter of June 10. We are getting our letters written today because we had intended to go visiting, but it is doubtful whether we shall make the trip since some "weather" is beginning. Volodya must have praised it too much—he kept saying "lovely, lovely weather" and now it has changed till it is like nothing on earth. There is wind every day that makes the shutters rattle. But it isn't cold and we take a daily walk as we did before. Although the shooting season has begun, Volodya has not yet got "hunting fever". He has been shooting only a couple of times. He shot some grey-hen and we made some good meals off them. We keep intending to go visiting, we have permission to go to town, but the permit is lying at the volost centre and we don't know whether we shall go or not. We were all ready to go when we learned that Vasily Vasilyevich was at the factory and on his way back would call for us to go with him—and we have invited Gleb and Zina to come at that time.... I want to see Zina and have a chat with her, it is a long time since I last saw her. The only thing is that after all those meetings with comrades one feels somehow dissatisfied. You intend to say everything there is to say but when you meet the talk somehow gets pushed into the background by all sorts of excursions, chess playing, skating, etc. The result is more like fatigue than pleasure. However that may be, it is good to see people. We have heard from Yermakovskoye that Anatoly is very bad, Lepeshinsky's wife is a nurse and she thinks the end is not far off. The doctor at Yermakovskoye is a great optimist and assures Dominika that there is still hope. About Mikh. Al.—he is all alone because his fiancée* has postponed her arrival until the end of summer. Yermakovskoye is now the most populated place in our district. I have been wondering all the time whether they will send anybody else to Shushenskoye, but they have not done so. Prominsky's time will be up in the autumn and the main question for them now is whether they will go home at the cost of the government; it is a big family, eight of them, and they will never manage it on their own resources. In the time we have been here we have got quite used to our Shushenskoye comrades and if for any reason a day

* O. A. Papperek.—*Ed.*

passes without Oscar or Prominsky coming we feel that there is something missing.... Why is Lirochka so bored? She wrote to us that she has so much work she has to get up at 5 or 6 in the morning to get everything done. It is true that all her work is the sort that gives her little satisfaction, but that is something she cannot change. Kazachinskoye is no worse than any other place. I should very much like to see her but now I am hardly likely to. If she is transferred to our district, it will be when we are no longer here.

Well, good-bye. Many kisses. Mother sends very best regards. Has Anyuta left yet? If not, kiss her for me, and kiss Manya, too, many, many times.

Yours,
N. Ulyanova

Written July 3, 1899
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18

TO LENIN'S MOTHER

Dear Maria Alexandrovna,

It is quite a long time since I wrote to you and I have not even answered Manyasha's letter of September 14 and my conscience is troubling me on account of it. There is nothing new to write about and I have described our daily life many times. A few days ago Kurnatovsky visited us and he told us about the people at Yermakovskoye. A son has been born to Dominika but the child is ill, they think it is consumptive, and she herself is sick all the time and very miserable. Mikh. Al. has been found fit for service in the army and he is now enjoying his last few months of freedom. In December he will be sent nobody knows where but for the time being he is very busy. His wife is always rather poorly, she is miserable and amuses herself by taking walks in the vegetable garden with a calf and her dog, Kurtashka. They promised to come to us as soon as the sleigh road is open. On the two days Kurnatovsky was with us, the men all went out shooting first thing in the morning; Kurnatovsky is fanatically keen on this sport. Somebody has heard from Kazachinskoye that Yaku-

bova has disappeared from there, enquiries are being made about her everywhere, and the people at Yermakovskoye have been asked whether she has been there; according to their information she was there a week ago. There are rumours that she has escaped abroad, somebody has seen her in Berlin. So that's that.

It is already autumn here and soon we shall go skating. That will be better because we have got rather fed up with walking and Volodya's shooting will soon be over. He is now busy with the Webbs' book. He has to work on alone because two of us together take longer. It is boring enough work because the translation is a poor one and it has to be almost all retranslated. Actually I don't do anything and I don't know where all the time goes. There remain three months and 13 days to the day of our departure, that is very little. I have already applied to the police department for permission to go to Pskov. Mother intends to make the same application in her own name.

Well, good-bye. Many kisses, regards to all.

Yours,
Nadya

Written October 17, 1899
Sent from Shushenskoye to Moscow

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1900

19

TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA

March 28

There have not been any letters from you or Anyuta for a long time. It looks as if my last "collective" letter was not to your liking. Somehow I could not write at that time. The Siberians recently gave me a good trouncing for a "collective" letter. Volodya came in for a good dose, too; he wrote a letter of twenty lines for five persons and expected to get five letters in answer to it They made merciless fun of him. So that was that. Congratulations, dear Marusya, and here's wishing you all the best. Since I have written all the gossip

about myself in a letter to Maria Alexandrovna,* I am going to write about mutual acquaintances. Yegor came to see us. I was awfully glad to see him because I had not known what to think about him. He looks radiant and very much alive. He kept talking the whole time without a stop. He told us that Vasily Vasilyevich had got a good job in Omsk, that Tonya had given birth to a girl and that both were doing well, E. E. is in ecstasies over her granddaughter (she was quite indifferent to the first). Gleb has also got a good job, assistant manager of a railway depot near Tomsk. So far, Zina is still in Nizhneudinsk. And so everything is all right with them. But poor M. A. is having a bad time in Riga. He wrote that the barracks were worse than a prison; he is not allowed out alone, always in the company of a soldier, and then only as far as the shop. They took away all his books except the German dictionary and Civil Law. The food is bad and he cannot take any into the barracks, it would be stolen immediately. The clothing they gave him is so bad he had to get some of his own. The worst thing of all is that M. A. has been posted to the very company that dealt brutally with the workers; the soldiers received an award of 10 rubles each for killing a worker, and when they were on patrol they opened fire on their own Initiative. So you see!

The comrades in Minusinsk are all keeping well. I recently received a letter from them which made me very glad. Altogether, I never imagined that I had become so fond of the Minusinsk crowd. Baramzin, the man we left our dog with, intends to bring us (really to Volodya) a drawing of her, he draws very well. Our dog seems to be having a good time and has become a general favourite. Talking of the dog reminds me of Lirochka. She once passed on some instructions through me, and one of them concerned a most detailed description of a moth-eaten mongrel. One of our mutual friends recently got a letter from her and sent me an extract from it. I was not at all pleased with the theoretical part of the letter. She says that Bernstein offers nothing in the way of theory—"That is some sort of idiocy!" But the practical significance of the book, she says, is tremendous; he has turned his attention to the needs of the masses and calls for reality, for concrete things. She believes the book to be a success because the orthodox trend had begun to pall. She says about the resolution**

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* This letter has been lost.—*Ed.*

** This apparently refers to the "Protest by Russian Social-Democrats" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 4, pp. 167-182).—*Ed.*

that here energy finds an outlet in inventing a path that development must follow. In general, Lirochka to me is now an X. She and I formerly held astonishingly identical views, but something has been happening to her in the past three years and I don't understand her any more. Perhaps we would come to an agreement if we met, but there's something lacking in our correspondence. She is not the Lirochka I knew and it is no use writing about mists, weather and so on, and she doesn't seem to want to write about anything else, and she can't, anyway. To tell the truth, I cannot reconcile myself to her marriage. Her husband* created the impression on me of a kind of narrow self-assurance.... But I have said too much on this subject. Good-bye. Kiss Anyuta and give M. T. my regards.

Yours,
Nadya

Written March 28, 1900
Sent from Ufa to Moscow

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20
TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA

Her Excellency Maria Ilyinichna Ulyanova,
Sharonov's House, No. 25,
Bakhmetyevskaya Street,
Moscow

March 30

Dearest Manyasha,

The day before yesterday I sent a letter to you and M. A. and yesterday got one from you. I am very glad that M. A. may possibly go to visit Volodya, as it looks as if I shall not be able to move from here for a long time. Yes, Volodya has got thinner, but it was only very recently that he lost weight, before that he looked very healthy. I think it is not so much the catarrh that bothers him as insomnia. Recently his insomnia has been chronic, he was very excited before our departure and the frosts were so fierce that he did not go out at all. As soon as we set out Volodya cheered up and began

* K. M. Takhtarev.—*Ed.*

to eat and sleep properly. I think he will be able to check the catarrh with the waters that did him good before; in general, Volodya takes care of his health. He writes that he is being well fed. It is a pity, of course, that he has to live away from the family.

I gathered from your letter that Yuly came to see you and so all my news is now stale.

I am sending you my translation and the book. I don't understand any of the underlined passages and, apart from that, I imagine I have translated a lot of the rest all wrong. I do not know the language at all, and the dictionary is little help; one phrase often has several meanings the way I read it. You must take a look at the entire translation and correct it where it is wrong. That's all. Good-bye, my darling Englishwoman. Many kisses for M. A. and Anya.

Yours,
N. U.

Written March 30, 1900
Sent from Ufa

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21

TO LENIN'S MOTHER

July 26

Dear Maria Alexandrovna,

I have just received a postcard from Volodya, sent from Austria.... The letters are a long time on the way—I got the postcard on the eighth day, which means I shall receive Volodya's letters on the ninth or tenth day. Volodya writes that he feels very well and I am very, very pleased about it, of course. How are you keeping? Are you quite well? After the impassable mud and the dampness here, we are now enjoying wonderful days. You are probably having excellent weather too and you can take advantage of the summer. Things are all right here now. I am sorry you and Anyuta got such an unfavourable impression of Ufa; the weather was terribly muggy at the time and our place was all higgledy-piggledy. We are still living in the same apartment but we shall probably soon be moving to a winter apartment, an excellent one that we have tried, across the road diagonally from us. I am now quite well and so is Mother. She sends you all her regards.

When Volodya was staying here in Ufa he wrote Filippov a scathing letter about his having printed Volodya's article in such distorted

form.* A letter came from Filippov after Volodya had left in which he tried to gloss it over. "Dear Sir, an opportunity of settling the affair has occurred. I am sending you the manuscript of Skvortsov's article, so that you can reply. I ask you to bear the censorship conditions in mind and keep the article short." It seemed as if he wanted to appease Volodya by sending him the article, but two days later he changed his mind and sent another letter, this time not for forwarding to V. I. as before, but to be forwarded to Mr. Ulyanov. The outward appearance of the letter alone was evidence of his disdain—a torn-off half sheet of paper on which the letter had been typed with corrections to the typing. The letter was foolishly abusive, the man does not seem to understand what he is talking about. I wrote him that I had received the two letters and could not send them on to Volodya because I did not know his address, but would send them immediately I did; I said I was returning the manuscript because if it were sent abroad there would be a long delay in getting it printed and the author would hardly be likely to approve of it. Volodya would probably not want to accept favours from that idiot. Skvortsov's article is also excessively abusive. The same meaningless quotations from Marx and complete failure to understand one's opponent. There is no point even in polemicising with such a person. I doubt whether Volodya will answer him.

Maria Andreyevna called the day after Volodya's departure. She was very nice and awfully kind. I felt a twinge of conscience—I do not know how to be nice to people. I wanted to demonstrate my kindness by offering to help her make jam, only I remembered in time that I had never made any jam and the Lord alone knows what I might have made.... They are going to live at the farmhouse all the winter.... Well, good-bye. Many kisses for you and Anyuta and I will drop Manyasha a few lines.

Yours,
Nadya

Written July 26, 1900
Sent from Ufa to Podolsk

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* The letter has been lost. The article was "Uncritical Criticism (Regarding Mr. P. Skvortsov's Article 'Commodity Fetishism' in *Nauchnoye Obozreniye* No. 12, 1899)" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 3, pp. 609-632).—*Ed.*

22
TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA

July 26

Thank you, Manyasha dear, for the books and the photograph—that is probably your doing—and for the postscript to Volodya's letter. I have been intending to write for a long time but kept on putting it off. How are you all? I have not heard anything of you for ages. When are you thinking of returning to town, what plans have you made for the winter? When I received a letter from Volodya saying that Maria Alexandrovna and Anyuta were coming with him I was very glad and thought I would be able to discuss everything with Anyuta. There are many things I wanted to talk about. When they arrived, however, I was so distracted that all my ideas flew away—and there were other visitors here besides the family. It turned out that I did not have a real talk at all and I do not know when I shall see them again. Oh well, we shall see what will happen; I have only seven and a half months left to remain in Ufa, the time will pass very quickly. I have found pupils to teach and am taking German lessons myself. I have discovered a German from Berlin and with some difficulty persuaded him to talk to me twice a week. So far we have had only one talk. The German is a chatterbox, so I may get something out of it. In addition to that I have been reading the silliest German novels and have been so busy at my German that I do not go anywhere; I am becoming unsociable and have no desire to go anywhere. Good-bye. I embrace you fondly.

N. Ulyanova

P.S. Did Volodya tell you that a young lady from here is coming to see you? She is the niece of an old acquaintance. Tell her whatever you can about studies at Brussels University.

Written July 26, 1900
Sent from Ufa to Podolsk

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23

TO LENIN'S MOTHER

Her Excellency Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova,
Kedrova's House,
Podolsk (Moscow Gubernia)

August 26

Dear Maria Alexandrovna,

It is again a long time since I wrote to you, but all I have to write about is myself and that is boring. Nevertheless, I will write. I am keeping perfectly well, so is Mother. It is three weeks now since we moved to a new apartment. It is very convenient, downstairs, two rooms and a kitchen, newly decorated, and a garden under our windows; the owners are nice people. We lived in this apartment once before, but now it has quite a different appearance. Our address is *Priyutskaya Street*, *Kulikova's House*. We seem to have settled down at last. I am now pretty busy; I still retain my summer pupils and winter lessons have also begun. Two lessons will remain for the winter, both quite pleasant and paying quite well (62 rubles). I shall spend about 6 hours a day on them. Since I like teaching, it will be quite all right, not a bit tiring. The bad thing is the mud in Ufa, you can drown in it, and in the evenings, when there is supposed to be a moon and the streets remain unlit for that reason, you are quite likely to land up in a ditch—and one of my lessons is in the evening. On Sundays I take German lessons from an excellent German. Everything would have been all right except that there has been so much commotion at our place lately that I have not been able to take up a book for a fortnight. And so I have not been busy at my German at all and that is a great pity. Volodya complains of the turmoil of life in Paris, but that is Paris and turmoil is in the nature of things; but when there is turmoil in Ufa it is like nothing on earth. This, of course, is the time when some people are going, some are coming and others are passing through. People passing through say that Zina is very miserable, that she has recently changed very considerably, and grown thin and pale. They also say that Mikh. Al. is having a bad time, and that O. A. could not find any pupils for a long time. Mikh. Al. has been posted to the Krasnoyarsk Regiment, a regiment that was about to set out on a march (it has started by now). The Siberians are lazy correspondents and so I know little about them. I am partly to blame, by the way. Lidya intends moving to Ufa, she has made an

application, but I don't know whether she will be able to get transferred; I should very much like to see her before I leave here. Volodya writes very rarely and has apparently given me the wrong address, since he does not seem to have received my letters. I am now writing to him in Paris. I don't know where to send the magazine he asks for, *Zhizn*. In the end I shall probably send it to you, perhaps he has given you his proper address. I gathered from his last letter that he is leaving Paris but he did not say where for. I am returning Manyasha's French book together with *Zhizn*. She wrote that she had to return it in September. Anyuta, by the way, took a Gorky book to read in the train and its owner is asking for it back; if it is not too much trouble, please send it to me. I ask Manyasha to excuse me for not writing to her separately—I should only have to repeat everything. How are you? Are you keeping well? Has Anyuta gone for long? Have you received a reply from St. Petersburg about whether D. I. has been accepted into the University? Are you moving to Moscow soon? Well, good-bye. Many, many kisses for you and Manyasha. Mother sends regards to all.

Yours,
Nadya

P.S. Have just made a discovery—I have not got the issue of *Zhizn* that Volodya wrote about and so am sending only the French book.

Written August 26, 1900
Sent from Ufa

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the original

24
TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA

Her Excellency Maria Ilyinichna Ulyanova,
Kedrova's House,
Podolsk (Moscow Gubernia)

September 11

Our letters must have crossed in the post, Manyasha dear. At the end of August I wrote to Maria Alexandrovna a most minutely detailed letter describing my way of life. I wanted to send the French

book with a young lady who was supposed to come to visit you but who, it turned out, had found a travelling companion to go to Paris with; I think she is going to Paris for no particular purpose, just for amusement, she has not much intention of studying and cannot come to Podolsk. And so I sent the book to you by post, I did not go to the post office myself and in my hurry forgot to write "Registered" on the parcel and so it went by ordinary book post. I am afraid it might get lost. Please write and let me know if you received it. Speaking of books—when Volodya was staying here he promised to send an acquaintance *The Development of Capitalism* but forgot to do it and now asks for it to be done. To prevent any unnecessary posting please send one copy direct to the following address: Birsk (Ufa Gubernia), Pavel Fyodorovich Savinov. I think that is all there is to be done. Has D. I. got anything? When are you moving to Moscow? Are you all well? When is Anya returning?

There are no changes here, we are both well. I am busy with my teaching, I teach all subjects, even Latin; there are crowds of people here with nothing to do, as before; I am busy with German but there seems very little time for it. It is, of course, much easier to study the language with a German teacher than to work alone. Volodya seldom writes, says little about himself and complains of the turmoil. Olga Alexandrovna is not coming to Ufa because she has got fixed up in Krasnoyarsk, and Mikhail Alexandrovich is in the regular army. Zina is anxious to get to Russia and does not write in very great detail. I am expecting to see a returning comrade in a few days; he should have passed through here a long time ago but he was taken ill with dysentery just before he left and is still recovering slowly.

Here in Ufa there is absolutely impassable mud such as I have never in my life seen before, and all the time it is raining, raining.... Perfectly beastly.

Well, good-bye, many kisses for you, for you and Maria Alexandrovna. Regards from Mother.

Nadya

Written September 11, 1900
Sent from Ufa

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25

TO LENIN'S MOTHER

Her Excellency Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova,
Sharonov's House,
Bakhmetyevskaya Street,
Moscow

October 1, 1900

Dear Maria Alexandrovna,

I received a letter from Manya a long time ago but, as usual, allowed other things to intervene. You probably moved to Moscow a long time ago. How are you? Are you keeping well? Has D. I. left for Yuriev? Will Manyasha's case soon come to an end?* I once received a letter from Anyuta and answered it immediately, but my letters are not always delivered at the proper time and I sometimes receive letters from Volodya in different order from what he wrote them in. Although Volodya now writes more frequently, I still know very little about the way he is living there; I know he has taken up some English language courses, and that he cannot get into his stride.... Zina and her husband blame me for not writing enough about Volodya, but what can I write to them? Volodya is quite unable to write about the ordinary side of life. Let him write to them himself. They are not thinking of moving to Russia yet and have not done anything about it—I think they should. It will soon be March 11 and even Zina will be her own mistress then. Five months and eleven days—I no longer know whether that is much or little. I do not know whether I shall be able to leave Ufa on the 11th by the morning train as I have long been intending. Incidentally, there is nothing so very bad about Ufa except the mud, and I have long since become an Ufa patriot. We have fixed ourselves up well—in provincial style—a good apartment, good food, etc., in short we have adapted ourselves somewhat to provincial life. Time goes like a machine that has been wound up and I have some nice children as pupils. In general, I am very fond of teaching children, and at the moment the children are very nice, especially one tiny little girl. I give lessons to the numerous progeny of a local millionaire merchant—he has five of them. They are very strict, the way our merchants are, and I actually like the way the children are brought up. The parents do not dress them up, they have

* Lenin's sister Maria Ilyinichna Ulyanova was arrested on September 30, 1899 and sent to Nizhny Novgorod until the preliminary investigation was over. She returned to Moscow at the end of December.—*Ed.*

very few toys, no nursemaids, plenty of freedom, the youngsters are in the street all day, the children clean their own boots, tidy up their rooms (even wash clothes). In general, there is nothing aristocratic about them and they are not spoiled. They all learn very willingly, both the youngsters and the older ones. The youngest girl (seven years old) is very nice, a delightful character, clever, pretty, and such an industrious and attentive pupil I have never seen. Every day she is "simply longing" to read, write and do arithmetic. And when there is something just a bit more interesting, her eyes flash. She now waits for me every time on the staircase and reports to me on all the events in the lives of the children. In short, this little girl has completely captivated me. Such wonderful children do exist! She is a happy-go-lucky kid, laughs a lot and has not been drilled (sometimes she wipes her nose on her frock). There is also a nice boy, but of a different kind. In general, I usually get interested in the boys and girls I teach, the pity is that the lessons take up too much time, they are foolishly arranged. I have taken up some French language courses here (soon German courses will open). Three times a week, an hour a time, six rubles a month; the courses are conversational, and so far I am very satisfied. I am the senior in a group of four. The Frenchman is an experienced teacher and conducts a very lively lesson, but the pupils are rather inert. It is a pity I have no French books here at all, and the French teacher gives us June newspapers to read or magazines with no beginning and no end. *Has Manyasha* (*she probably has*) *any French fiction or*, *in general, any French books?* None of the people here know any languages, so I with my half-baked knowledge am considered a specialist in this field; it is difficult to get any foreign books. I also go to the German teacher and write essays ten pages long for him, but we meet only once a week and that is too little for practice. I read German fiction on my own, but it's still more difficult for me to speak German than French. And that is how the day passes up to 8 o'clock in the evening, and in the evening I am rarely able to do anything, few evenings pass without somebody calling in. There you have the smallest details of the way I spend my time. Mother sends her best regards and I send many kisses. I shall not write a separate letter to Manyasha since I should only have to repeat what I have written, but instead I simply embrace her. That's all. All the best.

Yours,
Nadya

Sent from Ufa

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26
TO LENIN'S MOTHER

November 8

Dear Maria Alexandrovna,

I received your letter a few days ago and yesterday a letter from Manyasha with newspaper cuttings enclosed; many thanks, I have already read them.

I recently wrote to you, but our letters, as usual, crossed in the post. I am now better, but Mother is still feeling rather bad, first she has palpitation, then she catches cold. We now have an excellent apartment, even a piano. We have an acquaintance who sings well and we manage some music in the evenings, rather strange music, it is true, for the piano groans, wheezes and rattles, but still it is music. Visitors make Mother tired and I, too, would be glad if they did not come so often; the fact of the matter is that I come home so tired at nine o'clock that there is not much I can do, anyway.

A few days ago I got a letter from Volodya that was two and a half weeks on the way and another that took a fortnight. The letters take a terribly long time to come. Volodya advises me to make a start with my English but I don't suppose I shall follow his advice. I have arranged with the German to have lessons three times a week and things will go better. Apparently I have been infected by Volodya's *idée fixe*—I must master languages at all costs. I now have some other work in addition to my teaching and language lessons and in the spring I will tell you all about it in detail. Only four months are left to March, when I shall come to you and then go on to Volodya. At the moment I am not allowing myself to think deeply on this subject, because if I do the time will drag heavily.

I don't know what to do about getting to Moscow in spring; I suppose it would be the wrong thing to tender an application beforehand. But why should I start guessing in advance? Spring is a long way off. It is winter here, a good, healthy winter. I hope the time will pass quickly for you until Christmas, and that at Christmas....*

Written November 8, 1900
Sent from Ufa to Moscow

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in Lenin's *Letters to Relatives*

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the original

* The end of the letter has been lost.—*Ed.*

27
TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA

Her Excellency Maria Ilyinichna Ulyanova,
Sharonov's House,
Bakhmetyevskaya Street,
Moscow

December 2

Dear Manyasha,

Many thanks for the album, excuse me for the trouble I have caused you in getting it sent on; thanks also for bothering to supply me with French books. I have not yet managed all the old ones for I read terribly little. I know very well that unless I read I cannot master a language, but there is no time. How I sometimes envy you your solitude! It would give me the greatest pleasure to pore over my books of an evening, but I never manage to. Hustle, bustle and again hustle! One would have thought this could be avoided in Ufa. I do not know how it happens because I am not, I believe, very sociable. It is true that I have lost my shyness, only on rare occasions am I overcome by a sudden wave of shyness and cannot utter a word; now, however, that rarely happens and soon passes, but it used to be a real misfortune. That is why I understand you so well when you write about .your being shy. I know what a tormenting feeling it is and how difficult it is to get over it....

I have another request to make of you. Volodya asked for someone to write to Filippov about manuscripts and about payment for the Skvortsov article. I am writing about the manuscripts today but a letter must be written to *Soikin* about payment, mentioning the exact number of pages. I have not got a copy of *Nauchnoye Obozreniye* handy, so I cannot count the number of pages; more important than that—I am afraid there may be some delay in sending the money and that I shall have left Ufa in the meantime—I want to avoid complications. It is also possible that Filippov has sent the money to Moscow and that may make things awkward. So please write to Soikin in Volodya's name telling him to send the money to you. I think it would be better to do this before the New Year.

What were you sick with? What did you have, influenza? I hope you have completely recovered.... Have you? And is Maria Alexandrovna keeping well? For some reason you did not write anything about her. What are you doing? What are you reading?

If you have not gone abroad by that time, we shall see one another

in March. Only three and a half months left, actually not very much. Do you know, I sometimes wonder whether I shall be given a passport to go abroad with Volodya away, perhaps his consent is necessary. Do you know whether Mark Timofeyevich's consent was required before a passport was issued to Anyuta? In general, as we get nearer to March I am getting alarmed at the possibility of delays. It is true that Volodya's letters have now become calmer and he writes that he is quite well, but it would not be a bad thing if those three months passed more quickly.

The Siberians write very seldom, and from people passing through I have learned only that Gleb has grown thin and Zina has got fat. That's not much.

Well, good-bye, I embrace you fondly and kiss you. Many, many kisses for Maria Alexandrovna as well. Mother sends regards.

Yours,
N. Ulyanova

Written December 2, 1900
Sent from Ufa to Moscow

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28
TO LENIN'S MOTHER AND HIS SISTER MARIA

December 22

Dear Maria Alexandrovna and Manyasha,

It seems quite a time since I wrote to you. Today I am in something of a holiday-eve mood and I am spending the day in a most unusual manner. I shall not have any lessons for a fortnight, yesterday I gave my last lesson, my French teacher has also gone away for the holidays, and so I am, as the saying goes, as free as the birds of the air. I began today by cleaning up the house and then got down to letter-writing and finishing off all kinds of unfinished jobs. I wanted to write you a letter for Christmas but I have been so busy, and this letter will probably arrive in the New Year, if you bear in mind the holidays and the snowdrifts. I wish you, dear people, a happy New Year; I send you many kisses and wish you good health and everything, everything that is good. I hope that this year I shall be able to spend some time with you. Mother also sends her best wishes. Here it is "seriously"

cold, thirty below zero every day, and sometimes there is a snowstorm on top of the frost. I parade in Mother's fur coat and felt boots and she does not go out at all—the cold immediately takes her breath away. The post is greatly delayed by the snowstorms.

How are you spending the holidays? Has D. I. arrived? Oh, there's something else—what is Anyuta's address? I wrote to her at Volodya's address a long time ago and do not know if she received my letter. I'd like to write to her, but I don't know where to send a letter. Olga Alexandrovna, from whom I recently received a letter, is also asking about the address. What a pity, Manyasha dear, that they would not let you go abroad—I had already begun to envy you. Perhaps we shall be able to go together. I am trying not to think of spring and my journey yet; if I do, I get lost in wild ideas. People had a good laugh at my expense yesterday. I started crossly trying to preach that it was essential to maintain an even temper and got so angry that I proved brilliantly that I was not even-tempered myself. Unfortunately my acquaintances are all nervous wrecks, people with "moods"; of course, if one's nerves are out of order there is nothing one can do about it, only why let oneself go—that I cannot stand.

Olga Alexandrovna writes that they are badly off; she is living in Krasnoyarsk where Mikhail Alexandrovich enjoys some privileges on account of her. She has one small lesson, a poor one, and hopes to find another. M. A. gets terribly fatigued by army service and is bored by doing nothing and being a soldier. All the Siberians write regularly, except the Taiga and Omsk people, who maintain an unconscionable silence. Gleb, they say, is completely worn out at his job; I am surprised that they hang on there. We live on the main highway and people are passing through all the time so that we have a life of variety. Not long ago one of our Minusinsk acquaintances was here; he had been released for a month to visit his mother. By the way, Manyasha, you asked me about O.,* you wanted to know what sort of person she is. I have very little personal knowledge of her but have heard many good things about her. I had intended to send a letter with her but, first, she did not go direct and, second, I had influenza at the time and could not think properly. I thought she would get to know Anyuta. Here I am, chattering away nineteen to the dozen. My study of languages is making poor headway. I suppose I am not good at them.

* This refers to G. I. Okulova.—*Ed.*

And so, good-bye. Once more I embrace and kiss you; regards to M. T. and D. I.

Yours,
Nadya

The Kautsky translation* is not here now, it was sent temporarily to Astrakhan, it will be returned soon, but Volodya has asked for it to be sent to him, only I don't know if it's fit for posting, it has acquired such a battered look.

Written December 22, 1900
Sent from Ufa to Moscow

First published in 1931
in Lenin's *Letters to Relatives*

Printed from
the original

1901

29

TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA

February 2

Dear Manyasha,

I have not answered your last letter until now because when I received it I wrote to Astrakhan asking then to send me the *Counter-criticism* quickly; so far I have not had a reply but expect one in a couple of days. In the meantime ask Filippov for the translation, I wrote to him once at Volodya's request, asking him to send all Volodya's manuscripts to your address. I suppose he has not sent them.

I was beginning to let my correspondence lag but today I am in a tranquil mood and am, therefore, inclined to chatter, although there is actually nothing to chat about. Nothing here has changed except that the sun is shining in a joyful, springlike way, and I just dream of spring, I keep returning to the idea that there are only six weeks left and then ... then I shall be quite crazy with joy, especially when I have travelled to where Volodya is. At present there is no time to get really bored, there is plenty of work of all kinds. I ought to be trying to get everything done in time, but sometimes I laze around unpardonably, really unpardonably. I feel the urge to go out and

* This refers to the manuscript of Lenin's translation of Karl Kautsky's book *Bernstein und das sozialdemokratische Programm. Eine Antikritik*, Stuttgart, 1899.—*Ed.*

sometimes, instead of sitting down to work, I go wandering about the streets and once I started reading a novel first thing in the morning. The boredom in Ufa is terrible, but you can build up your health here—I, for instance, have got so fat lately it's simply awful. But Mother cannot boast of her health, she is always feeling poorly. She is already making preparations to leave, and is busy sewing something and counting the days. After Ufa, you know, only Moscow and St. Petersburg are banned; at least there have been three such cases. But people do get terribly attached to one place. They stay put in Ufa, where you can earn good money, or else they move on to Samara. And what's good about Samara!

Oh how little I read! All this time I have read only Berdyayev. And how poor is my progress with languages. I have not been to the French courses since Christmas because our group broke up and the Frenchman teaches me very perfunctorily when I go alone. I have German lessons on rare occasions. The results depend on my mood, sometimes I chatter away well enough and sometimes I say the weirdest things. All our people in Ufa have now joined forces with *Samarskaya Gazeta* and write for it—so do I.* Since I have so little experience in this field, it causes me plenty of worry. Altogether I am making attempts this year to get into the literary world. Some of the attempts are successful, but the trouble is that I cannot write the way I want to and I just hate my stuff. That's that. Why don't you write anything about yourself? How are you? When is your case coming to an end? Good-bye, or rather, *au revoir*! Many kisses. I fondly embrace Maria Alexandrovna and send her many kisses; I am terribly impatient to get to Moscow. Mother sends regards to all. Goodbye, Manyasha dear, excuse me for my unpunctuality.

Yours,
N. U.

Written February 2, 1901
Sent from Ufa to Moscow

First published in 1931
in Lenin's *Letters to Relatives*

Printed from
the original

* *Samarskaya Gazeta* (Samara Gazette) No. 36 (February 16, 1901) published Nadezhda Krupskaya's article "The School and Life".—*Ed.*

30
TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA

February 12, 1901

Dear Manyasha,

Many thanks for the cuttings. I read them with great interest. I have just received a notice from the post office about the arrival of a parcel. I suspect it is the Kautsky manuscript; if it is, I will send it to you tomorrow for certain. It is a great pity that there has been such a delay. Do you know whether *Essays and Studies* is obtainable? People are begging me to get a copy, they write that it is not on sale anywhere.

Just a month left. Wonderful, isn't it? The time will come when there is just one day left! Yes, everything will come!

There is something I almost forgot. Mother has a big request to make of you. She would like you to insure a lottery ticket she has, serial number *7328*; this has to be done before March 1 and it cannot be done in Ufa because if the ticket wins it will become known here only in April and she would have to come back to Ufa—in short, it would not be worth her while. Keep the receipt yourself. The insurance will cost about three rubles, Mother wanted to send the money now, but I managed to convince her that it would do when she sees you. That's that.

Are we really going to miss Anya? I want very much to see her. Write and tell me when she thinks of coming. I shall have another journey to make, to Astrakhan, and I do not know whether I should go to Moscow before or after—I am thinking of making it dependent on when Anya will come.

Well, good-bye for the time being. This week there have been such crowds of people here that I am awfully glad the holidays are over.

Many kisses for you and Maria Alexandrovna, and I embrace you both. Mother sends regards.

Hoping to see you soon.

Yours,
Nadya

Has Filippov sent you any sort of an answer? The blockhead!

Sent from Ufa to Moscow

First published in 1929 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from the original

31

TO LENIN'S MOTHER

June 11, 1901

Dear Maria Alexandrovna,

I have not written all this time because at first I relied on Anyuta to describe our way of life and after that Mother and Volodya wrote to you. We are all quite well, and Volodya shows no sign of catarrh. Mother is also keeping well. She finds life with us very monotonous, but I do not. It is true that Volodya and I are terrible homebirds. So far I have been to only one picture gallery and know practically nothing about the town. That is partly because it is summer and when we go for walks we go out in the country, not to town. We are living in a suburb, where we have the conveniences of a big city—shops, trams, etc.—combined with the proximity of the country. Yesterday, for instance, we went for a good walk along the road. It is a marvellous road lined with poplars and with fields and orchards on all sides. We have been for only one long ride and that was not a success—we got caught in a storm and came home very tired. We are thinking of going to the mountains some time. Anyuta kept advising us to move to a village for the summer. Mother, too, thinks it would be better, but for many reasons it would be inconvenient. We cannot move too far because Volodya would have to travel to town every day, and that would be too tiring. Apart from that he goes to the library fairly often. There is a park and a place to bathe not far from us—about twenty minutes walk. In general life here is gradually beginning to conform to a pattern and Volodya is getting along better with his work.... As far as I am concerned, well, I work very little so far, or, to tell the truth, I do not work at all. Time passes, but where it goes I just don't know.

I intend to visit the local schools. This place is a sort of child's kingdom. Everybody pays so much attention to them and the children are so nice and healthy. I have been in our city schools and cannot help drawing comparisons; I find that the children here live a lot better. My intentions will probably remain only intentions. Still I have plenty of time. Vodovozova has sent a cheque for six hundred odd marks, but I have not yet received the money or any letter. Altogether people in Russia write terribly little to us, we might well think that all our old friends have forgotten our existence. There has not been a whisper either from Zina or Bazil.... Nor do we know whether Gleb has left that Taiga of his....

How are you getting on, dear Maria Alexandrovna? Are you keeping well? Give D. I. my regards.

A letter for Manyasha is enclosed,* and give M. T. my regards. Is there anything new? Is anything more known?

Our people all send regards and I send many kisses.

Yours,

Nadya

P.S. Volodya asks D. I. to send three copies of *The Development of Capitalism* to the doctor.

Sent from Munich to Podolsk

First published in 1929 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from the original

32

TO LENIN'S MOTHER

July 16, 1901

Dear Maria Alexandrovna,

Anyuta has sent us your letter to Volodya and also Manya's letter. Why did they not give Manya my letter? Very odd! It would be a good thing if the rumours that she is shortly to be released came true.... When you see Manya, tell her that I send her my best regards and many, many kisses. I was greatly surprised at the place in your letter where you said that Volodya would know about your way of life from your letter to Mother. That letter must have gone astray because Mother has not received a letter from you and quite recently told me to ask whether you had received her letter. Mother is ill all the time, she has a cough and sleeps poorly. Today she went with us to the bathing place, and got terribly tired, though it is no more than fifteen minutes walk. We go almost every day, the bathing here is excellent and, in general, although we live in a town the country is very near to us. It is a fine place in all respects. It is now quite warm, but not too hot to bear.

The time seems to pass awfully quickly. Somehow you scarcely notice how week after week goes by; it is not as if there was a lot to do, although it seems "you never do anything but are never without something to do".

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* The letter has been lost.—*Ed.*

I am taking up German again, it's a nuisance not to know the language; I have found a German woman who will give me lessons in exchange for Russian lessons. We'll see how it goes. Volodya and I keep intending to go to a German theatre, but we are terribly inactive in this respect, we keep saying "we ought to go" and that is the end of it, for something else always intervenes. Anyuta is more active in that sphere. By the way, I have to admit that our present mood is not very suitable for it. To get the best out of a foreign country you have to go there when you are young and are interested in every little thing.... However, I am in general satisfied with our present way of life; at first it was a bit miserable, everything very alien, but now, as we are beginning to take part in the life of the local people, that feeling is disappearing. The only thing is that people in Russia are miserly with their letters. Well, I must stop. I embrace you fondly, my dear. Keep well and cheerful.

Mother sends regards to you and Dm. I. We are awaiting a letter from him. All the very, very best.

Yours,
Nadya

Sent from Munich to Podolsk

First published in 1929 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from the original

33
TO LENIN'S MOTHER

August 2

Dear Maria Alexandrovna,

We received your letter to Volodya yesterday. Unfortunately we see from it that nothing has changed, and I did not write to Manyasha the last time because I thought she would soon be with you. But good things always happen when you least expect them. Sometimes, when I have been away from home a long time and my thoughts have been occupied with something altogether different I find myself coming home with the idea that there simply must be a telegram waiting to say that our folks are with you.... Please, dearest, when you go to see Manyasha, give her many, many kisses from me and give M. T. my regards. I will write to Manyasha.

There are no changes here. Volodya is now working quite hard and

I am glad for his sake; when he throws himself completely into some task he feels well and strong—that is one of his natural qualities; he is in very good health, there does not seem to be a trace of the catarrh left and no insomnia, either. Every day he takes a cold rub down and we go bathing almost every day, too. But Mother is always feeling poorly, first rheumatism, then general weakness, and then she catches cold.

In a week or so Volodya and I intend going to Switzerland for a short time to see Anyuta. I am very glad that Anyuta did not go to Rügen, as she originally intended, but to Lake Thun. It is probably better there. We are going for only a few days, but I am looking forward to the journey with pleasure—first, I want to see Anyuta, and second, I want to have a look at the mountains. I don't know what these mountains are like, I have never seen them, except in pictures. While we are away, an acquaintance of ours is going to stay with Mother, so she will not be afraid of being alone. In the autumn Mother wants to go to St. Petersburg; I am trying to persuade her to spend the winter with us but do not know what she will decide. Summer is drawing to a close and I have not even noticed how it passed; it is as though there has been no summer. Summer is not a real summer in town.

Well, good-bye, dearest, I embrace you fondly and wish you health and strength. Give D. I. my regards and thank him for the book I received a long time ago. Mother sends regards to all.

Yours,
Nadya

Written August 2, 1901
Sent from Munich to Podolsk

First published in 1929
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from
the original

1902

34
TO LENIN'S MOTHER

Dear Maria Alexandrovna,

It is a long time since we had a letter from you and I am beginning to get seriously worried.... How are you keeping? Where is Anya now? If she is still with you, give her a lot of kisses for me. What about

Manyasha? Have you got decently fixed up, have you rented a suitable apartment?

We are all well. This is a wonderful autumn and Volodya and I often go out in the country. Mother is gradually getting used to the new surroundings, although she does not like big cities. She sends her regards to all. I embrace you fondly, you and Manyasha, and Anyuta, too, if she is with you.

Yours,
Nadya

Written September 27, 1902
Sent from London to Samara
First published in 1929
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11
Printed from the original

1903

35

TO LENIN'S MOTHER

March 4, 1903

Dear Maria Alexandrovna,

It is ages since I wrote to you, so long that I have even forgotten when I sent my last letter. The fact of the matter is that I have completely forgotten how to write letters and regard them with feelings of loathing. Every time it requires quite a lot of will power to take up the pen. Once I start to write, however, the letter writes itself, I even begin to like it, but it is very difficult to start.

Volodya is not at home now,* he has gone for a breath of fresh air. I am always glad when he makes a trip somewhere because it has a very refreshing effect on him. A change of surroundings soothes the nerves—otherwise life drags on very monotonously, the same impressions and the same people day after day. And one does get sick of poring over books. This time I wanted to go with Volodya but again it didn't come off—a lot of work had piled up and Mother is so very sick that I did not want to, could not, in fact, leave her alone. She

* In late February and early March 1903 Lenin visited Paris where he lectured at the Russian Social Sciences Higher School and spoke to Russian political émigrés on the agrarian programme.—*Ed.*

has had a very bad attack of influenza and has had to keep to her bed for about a week. At first the doctor was afraid it might be typhus. She has now completely recovered, but the weakness remains. She wants to get out into the country as soon as possible, but we shall not be able to manage it before May, and even then I don't know how. Volodya is not keen on going to the country, he is very fond of Prague.* I have also got used to Prague but shall nevertheless be glad to get away from here. I should like to write in greater detail about the way we live, but there does not seem to be anything to write. How I should like to stay with you now! You wrote about your apartment in your last letter and I got a very clear conception of the way you live there. I was able to picture to myself the frosty weather, the fire in the stove, how you wait for Manya to return from work and how Manya comes in out of the frost. Life in Samara must be like life in Ufa. "Give me the wings of a swallow...." But now I am beginning to ramble. Sometimes I feel terribly homesick, today especially. By the way, that is how I am, I am always feeling drawn to somewhere else.

You will probably think we have no amusements at all here, but we go somewhere almost every evening; we have been to the German theatre a number of times and to concerts and we study the people and the local way of life. It is easier to observe here than anywhere else. Volodya is very keen on these observations and gets as enthusiastic about them as about everything he does. It was hard to begin this letter and now it is a pity to stop. I embrace you and Manya fondly, my dear ones. All the best.

Yours,
Nadya

Mother sends regards.

Sent from London to Samara

First published in the Fourth Edition of the *Collected Works*

Printed from the original

* Prague is mentioned instead of London for secrecy.—*Ed.*

1904

36

TO LENIN'S MOTHER

M. A. Ulyanova,
Laboratornaya, 12, Apt. 4,
Kiev

Dear Maria Alexandrovna,

Your letter came as a great shock to us—and it is so sad.* I can only hope they will soon be released. We have heard that there have been wholesale house searches and arrests in Kiev. During such raids many people are caught in the dragnet. Judging by the fact that they have arrested all of them, the case will be a trivial one. I don't know what conditions in the Kiev lock-ups are like now—they used to be bearable. Have they allowed you to see anyone? I have asked an acquaintance of mine to visit you. Since you moved to Kiev so recently, I am afraid you have not got any acquaintances there, the city is a big one and you are strange to it. It's a great pity that I have lost the address of a friend of Anyuta's and cannot write to her. I shall await your letter anxiously. Perhaps it will bring pleasanter news.

We are not living too well in Geneva; Mother is often poorly. We feel unsettled somehow and the work goes badly.

Can you send books and things to the people in prison? Have you had any letters from them? Does Mark Timofeyevich intend taking a holiday and visiting you? Mother is sorry she is not in Russia with you. Wishing you health and strength.

Yours,
Nadya

Written January 15, 1904
Sent from Geneva

First published in 1929
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 11

Printed from
a typewritten copy
(made by the police)

* See Note No. 233.—*Ed.*

1909

37

TO LENIN'S MOTHER

Dear Maria Alexandrovna,

To begin with, let me embrace you fondly. This letter is being written mainly to tell you that, because actually there is nothing much to write about. Manyasha has told you about our way of life. It differs from last year only in the apartment being very warm and Volodya having become a stick-at-home. He has been working a lot this winter and he always feels better when he is working.

For over a week now he has been getting up at eight in the morning to go to the library; he returns from there at 2 o'clock. At first he found it difficult to get up so early, but now he is very satisfied and has begun to go to bed early. It would be a very good thing if he could manage to keep it up.

To think we have been living in Paris for a whole year already! We have become fairly used to it, but it's a pity we see so little of the real local life.

Recently we went to a little theatre near here and enjoyed it. The audience was pure working class, mothers with babies, hatless, lively and talkative. It was interesting to see the audience's spontaneous reaction to the play. They applauded not good or bad acting, but good or bad actions. The play itself was just as ingenuous, naïve as the audience, with lots of pretty words that suited the taste of the audience. We got the impression of something very lively, very spontaneous. I was sorry that Manyasha was not there. I was also sorry she was not here when we went to see a demonstration of a hundred thousand people.* That created a very strong impression. In general we seldom go anywhere, and if we do, only on Sundays.

How are your eyes? Are they getting better? Mother, too, often complains that it is difficult for her to read in the evenings. Is the light good in your apartment? A pity it's chilly, though. It's a good thing you're living with somebody you know. If they are nice people, it's much pleasanter. Perhaps you will take a place together somewhere later on....

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* A demonstration of 100,000 people took place in Paris on October 5, 1909 as a protest against the execution of Ferrer in Spain; Ferrer had been accused of preparing the uprising in Barcelona in July 1909 brought about by the despatch of government troops to Morocco.—*Ed.*

FROM MARX TO MAO NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

Again, I embrace you fondly. Mother sends very best regards. I wrote to Manyasha recently and yesterday I made a discovery—my letter to her was lying undisturbed in Volodya's pocket! How many times have I sworn I would never give him letters to post. This time he assured me he would not forget it. But he did!

Yours,
Nadya

Written in the twenties of December, 1909
Sent from Paris to Moscow

First published in 1930 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 1

Printed from the original

1910

38

TO LENIN'S SISTER ANNA

Anna Ilyinichna Yelizarova,
c/o Yekaterina Lesonen,
Leppenenö Village,
Terijoki Station, Finland Railway,
Finland

August 24

Dear Anya,

I have received your letter and passed it on. Shkurka* left** yesterday, and Mother and I are thinking of staying here till mid-September. It's really rather nice here. I embrace you fondly, M. A. as well, if she has not left. Best regards from Mother.

Nadya

Written August 24, 1910
Sent from Pornic (France)

First published in the Fourth Edition of the *Collected Works*

Printed from the original

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* V. I. Lenin.—*Ed.*

** This refers to Lenin's trip to Copenhagen for the Eighth Congress of the Second International.—*Ed.*

1911

39

TO LENIN'S MOTHER

August 26

Dear Maria Alexandrovna,

I have been intending to write to you for a very long time, but there is always something that prevents it. A few days ago we received Anya's letter. The money, 100 francs, Volodya received a long time ago, but the list of books to be bought and sent with that money has not arrived. We see from your postcards and Anya's letter that the arrangement in Berdyansk was not a real summer affair. It looks urban rather than rural, though, of course, there's the bathing.... Our summer has not been very fortunate, either. Mother got ill several times, she had pneumonia and the doctor said that her lungs are, in general, not in good condition, that she needs rest, good food, and so on. In that respect our place here is no good; there is not the tiniest garden round the house, not even a yard, and if we want to get out of doors we have to go somewhere, which is not the same thing at all. It is hot in the house and noisy. Although the food is good—we eat in a commune and the cuisine is Russian, filling, home-cooked food—we have to walk a verst through the town and that is very tiring; we have begun taking the meals home but there is the bother of washing the dishes.... In short, it means nothing to a healthy person but is bad for one who is ill. And the heat here is simply unbearable. Mother is better but the illness set her back a lot, she coughs and has fits of depression.

Volodya is making good use of the summer. He does his work out in the open, rides his bicycle a lot, goes bathing and is altogether pleased with country life. This week we have been cycling our heads off. We made three excursions of 70 to 75 kilometres each, and have explored three forests—it was fine. Volodya is extremely fond of excursions that begin at six or seven in the morning and last until late at night. But the result is that we don't get our work done. Still, never mind! The weather is beginning to break. We have the rooms here until September 13, but if the weather keeps fine we can arrange with the landlord to stay longer. That would be good but there will be a big problem. The commune closes early in September, there is nowhere to cook at home and the restaurant is bad and expensive. We have,

indeed, fixed ourselves up here very cheaply. For the apartment we pay 10 francs a month, dinner and supper cost 1 franc 30 centimes a head. There are some other expenses, of course, but they are insignificant. Volodya is not sure when to advise Anya to come—now or later, direct to Paris. As regards work—he is busier at the moment, although it is difficult to foresee what will happen in autumn. Living conditions are better in town, things are pretty inconvenient here. I think Anya should come when it best suits her, it doesn't make much difference to us. Volodya will be very busy during the next couple of weeks or so. Only she should not come while we are moving; although that does not really matter, either. The moving job is not difficult. How long it is since we met!...

Well, I have told you everything there is to know about us and now I give you both many kisses. For your health's sake try to take advantage of the bathing before you leave.

Mother sends best regards.

Yours,
Nadya

Written August 26, 1911
Sent from Longjumeau (France)
to Berdyansk

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in the Fourth Edition
of the *Collected Works*

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40
TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA

September 21

Dear Manyasha,

I have received your two letters dated August 29 and 31. Many thanks.

Today, at long last, we moved back to town, there have been some fine autumn days lately, but today it is cold and raining. Mother has caught cold again recently and coughs a lot.

Volodya is going away for a few days,* and has asked me to go with him to the exhibition in Turin but I shall not be able to go, although I should like to make the trip. Still, I have had a good rest this summer and am more attracted to books than to holiday-making.

How is Maria Alexandrovna after her journey? Was she very tired?

* See Letter No. 220.—*Ed.*

When does Anya intend coming to see us? I am already in the mood to go sightseeing in Paris with her....

Many kisses for all of you, regards to M. T.

Mother sends regards.

Yours,
Nadya

P.S. I will send you a long letter soon. This is only by way of greeting.

Written September 21, 1911
Sent from Paris to Moscow

First published
in the Fourth Edition
of the *Collected Works*

Printed from
the original

1912

41
TO LENIN'S SISTER ANNA

March 9

Dear Anya,

This year I have somehow fought shy of letter-writing. Life goes on so monotonously here that I don't know what to write about. This winter I have been at home working persistently and for months on end have not left this part of the town. It has been raining all the time and I could not go cycling or walking. I have read little and have not been to any lectures. That is probably why I got so fed up with the winter. I am glad that spring has come, it is very early this year. Volodya and I have already been out in the country a couple of times. It is true that after these excursions I was so tired I couldn't budge, but it was wonderful, all the same. This week has been all going out. We went to the theatre, the play was idiotic, but these French fairly yelled their heads off. Still, there was some wonderful music during the entr'actes—Chaikovsky, Rimsky-Korsakov, Borodin. Today we are going to see Sophocles' *Electra*.... And all this because it is spring. How you have been spoiling us this year with parcels! Because of this Volodya has even learned to help himself from the larder and eats out of turn, i.e., not at the proper times. Whenever he comes in, he starts eating. Now he drinks milk before going to bed (instead of wine) and eats eggs in the mornings.

I soaked the herring as you told me and they are very nice, like salmon. I am thinking of making pancakes soon.

Mother is not feeling very well. I don't know what she will do in summer. First she wants to go to Russia, then she doesn't want to. She asks me to send her regards to all.

I have written about my niece.

We very rarely see M. F., he is very busy. He is in a hurry to finish a translation (this year he has translated three thick books), and has now been given some regular medical translation work. Kolya* is very pleased with his school, they play the gramophone to the children, tell them stories, give them crosses and teach them to write pot-books. He is beginning to chatter in French.

That is all the news. Has Manyasha received my letter? Why has she not written for so long?

I embrace you and Maria Alexandrovna fondly, Manyasha too. I should like to write more about Volodya to make the letter interesting, but couldn't manage it. Another time, perhaps. Regards to M. T. Somehow you all write very rarely.

Yours,
Nadya

Written March 9, 1912
Sent from Paris to Saratov

First published in 1930
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 4

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the original

42
TO LENIN'S MOTHER

May 27

Dear Maria Alexandrovna,

Your letter was indeed a sad one, one misfortune after another.** But I do believe Manyasha and Anyuta will soon be released. Judging by the newspapers there are now house searches going on all over Russia, and they are arresting everyone who has been inside before, arresting them on sight, as a precaution against "something

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* M. F. Vladimirsky's son.—*Ed.*
** See Note No. 311.—*Ed.*

happening", and then, a couple of weeks later, they let them go. I have heard of several such absurd arrests.

But it's a pity you have to worry so much and so deeply while things are being sorted out.

Look after yourself, my dearest. I embrace you fondly, and kiss you.

Yours,
Nadya

Mother sends her very best regards.

Written May 27, 1912
Sent from Paris to Saratov

First published in 1930
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 4

Printed from
the original

1913

43

TO LENIN'S MOTHER AND SISTER ANNA

January 4

Dear Maria Alexandrovna and Anya,

The compliments of the season from me and Mother to you and Mark Timofeyevich. Actually there is nothing to write about. Life is very monotonous. I have scarcely any acquaintances here. Of late I had been getting to know a young girl—not really a girl but the mother of the sweetest baby girl—but she left for Russia a few days ago.

We go walking every day, but don't overdo it. The weather is fine, but the mud is awful.

The holidays passed quietly, quite unnoticeably. The libraries here are Polish and there is a University library, but we are always busy and neither Volodya nor I have ever been to it.

And we have not been to a concert once.

We are all well.

I embrace you and send many kisses.

Yours,
Nadya

Written January 4, 1913
Sent from Krakow to Saratov

First published in 1931
in Lenin's *Letters to Relatives*

Printed from
the original

44

TO LENIN'S MOTHER AND SISTER ANNA

Dear Maria Alexandrovna and Anya,

Many kisses for the presents, only it is all so luxurious, we are not a bit used to it. Today Volodya invited some friends to share the parcel and to celebrate some brilliant publishing plans that emerged today. He is letting his dreams run away with him, every day a new book ... all his old notebooks have been perused, old lists of figures have been unearthed and the cobwebs wiped lovingly from them.

For the time being many kisses from me and from Mother, who is busy about the house.

About the mustard—that was Volodya inquiring on his own initiative—I know how to make mustard.

We are having winter weather here again.

The photographs were so good it was a pity to give them up. Volodya was particularly pleased with them.

About publishing and so forth, Volodya will probably write himself.*

Yours,
Nadya

Written February 24, 1913
Sent from Krakow to Saratov

First published in 1930
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 4

Printed from the original

45

TO LENIN'S MOTHER

March 18

Dear Maria Alexandrovna,

It is an eternity since we had a letter from you or from Anya and we are very worried, not knowing what the matter is. Perhaps a letter has gone astray, or perhaps one of you is ill. It's so easy to catch cold in spring! Here the grass is already green and dandelions and daisies have appeared, but there is a most annoying wind. Mother has managed to catch cold and has been wheezing heavily for about a week. It is a pity she cannot go out. And so we have been thinking that the

* See Letter No. 233.—*Ed.*

climate is worse in Saratov and someone may have caught cold. What does Mark Timofeyevich write? Where is he now?

Life here goes on like clockwork and actually there is nothing to write about. We live as we did in Shushenskoye, from one post to the next. Until eleven we fill in the time somehow; at eleven the first postman comes, and then we impatiently await the six o'clock post.

The letters we have been receiving recently are all rather gloomy and so our mood falls into line with them. We live a sort of reflected life.

Still, I am glad spring has come because the last winter seemed a very long one. People are already renting places for the summer, but things are very uncertain with us. Mother will go first to St. Petersburg if she is strong enough.

The amnesty turned out to be an absolute myth. I do not know how it will affect Manyasha, but she will get a one-third reduction in any case.*

We have not had a latter from Manyasha for a long time and do not know how she is getting on.

I embrace you and Anya fondly and wish you good health above all else. I hope her hand is better and that she will manage to write to us. Volodya, I suppose, will write himself.** Mother asks me to send regards.

In a week or less it will be Easter here—so early!***

Many kisses,
Yours,
Nadya

Written March 18, 1913
Sent from Krakow to Saratov

First published in 1930 in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 4

Printed from the original

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* See Letter No. 234 and Note No. 316.—*Ed.*

** See Letter No. 234.—*Ed.*

*** Catholic Poland used the Gregorian Calendar and Easter usually came earlier than in Orthodox Russia which used the Julian Calendar.—*Ed.*

46

TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA

Maria Ilyinichna Ulyanova,
Yekaterininsko-Dvoryanskaya, 40,
Vologda,
Russia

Dear Manyasha,

I congratulate you and send you many kisses. Lidya will stay on at the old place until May because Anna Mikhailovna and Lodik* have come to her. She has been getting ill rather often recently. We are moving to the country for five months; it's lovely there—forest, mushrooms, mountains, and a stream. All I am afraid of is that we shall get bored. It will be good to put Shkurka out to graze. There is a big verandah attached to the house, just right for him to sit and work. It is a huge house, big enough for a whole workshop, but for the time being Shkurka and I will be alone there because Mother is going to Russia for a couple of months. She also sends her congratulations. I am dreaming of being able to work a little in summer, for although I sit over my books I don't do any reading at all, and I am really terribly anxious to get down to work. This month will be wasted. I am up to my neck in day-to-day affairs and on top of all that it has been discovered that I have thyroid trouble. The doctor has frightened me and every day I go to the clinic for electrical treatment; that takes three hours and after it I wander about half the day like a lunatic. They feed me bromide and, in general, it is all terribly sickening. I intend writing you a long letter but somehow time gets frittered away.

Many kisses,
Yours,
Nadya

Written April 10, 1913
Sent from Krakow

First published
in the Fourth Edition
of the *Collected Works*

Printed from
the original

* This refers to A. M. Wrzosek (Runina) and her son.—*Ed.*

1914

47

TO LENIN'S SISTER ANNA

Anna Ilyinichna Yelizarova,
Goncharnaya Street, 11, Apt. 23,
St. Petersburg

Dear Anya,

I have received your postcard with your address. The news about M. A.'s illness is disturbing. What was wrong with her? Has she completely recovered? And how, in general, are they living there? Oh yes, about Beer. To translate it, you must first obtain the permission of the author and then find a publisher. The first can be managed by writing to him, but it will be more difficult to find a publisher. An acquaintance of ours long ago proposed translating Beer and offered it to various publishers, to Semyonov in particular, and they all refused. Volodya at first thought you should translate §4 and §5 of Chapter Four and all of Chapter Six for *Prosveshcheniye*, and then came to the conclusion that it would be better to write an article (about Beer) based on these chapters, leaving out all the uninteresting trivialities (which would make the article more popular in form) but retaining the more interesting passages untouched. If you have received the book, perhaps Manyasha will undertake the job. Volodya has not yet returned.* This time he will probably be tired after the journey. There is quite a lot of work waiting for him at home. We are already beginning to think about a place for the summer. Volodya wants to go to the same place as last year. The place is good for one's health, although it pours with rain all the time. The winter has been an unlucky one for us, we have not been able to work much. It is still three months to summer, by the way. Perhaps you could obtain something about the public education congress, speeches and so on. I need them very much. I have written all about *Rabotnitsa*** to twenty places. The thing seems to be developing sporadically. Some people seem to have taken the matter up seriously. I don't know how it will turn out, but Volodya, by the way, will write to you about it. Why are you so much against Sibirsky? I embrace you fondly. I wanted mostly to write to you about Beer.

Nadya

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* See Letter No. 246.—*Ed.*
** See Note No. 328.—*Ed.*

Mother sends regards. She is keeping more or less well. I, too, am keeping well on the whole, only my heart gets rebellious occasionally, apparently owing to the thyroid trouble. I want to go to the doctor in a day or two and ask him whether it is not a relapse. I shouldn't think so.

What does Mark Timofeyevich write?

Written January 31, 1914
Sent from Krakow

First published in 1929
in the Fourth Edition
of the *Collected Works*

Printed from
a typewritten copy
(made by the police)

48

TO LENIN'S SISTER ANNA

Dear Anya,

The periodical for women is developing sporadically so far. Moscow has promised to arrange a social evening to get money for it, but I don't know whether it will come off. Supplements to the newspaper would cost more and not less. A journal would have an organising significance and in that respect is better than supplements. In St. Petersburg they say "a hundred rubles is not money". I don't know about that, but somehow we start everything without money. When the first issue appears, perhaps it will be possible to get some, although, I repeat, I don't see any in the offing.

I am very worried about how the editorial side will be arranged. Things so far are in a bad way because there are two of us here and two more in Paris, but as far as the fifth member of the board is concerned things are not so simple. There are some very competent people in Paris. You know Lyudmila. The other is still more reliable as far as principles are concerned and whatever she undertakes she does well.* I should like the Parisians to co-opt a third person and have an editorial office there, but somehow this is not being done. The actual editorial office will be in Russia, of course. I do not think this at all important because the matter is such an elementary one that it will not be difficult to come to an agreement. At first there will be some slight confusion, then we shall talk matters over and in the end

* The Parisians were Lyudmila Stal and Inessa Armand.—*Ed.*

we shall be able to work together and everything will be all right. And the disadvantage is that we are not all competent literary workers, and some of our ideas may not be expressed clearly.... Still, I hope everything will turn out all right. Please write more about this matter.

A few days ago I read through all the articles in our newspapers about women's affairs and saw that the insurance campaign had made the question of women very prominent. I have sent a short article on this issue today. If only I were a competent writer—nothing comes out the way I want it to. While you are writing a thing it seems good, but when you see it in print you are ashamed to look at it.

I am worried about the article for *Prosveshcheniye*.* It is written exclusively from newspaper articles, and from very few newspapers at that. The resolutions were reported everywhere very differently and many factual errors may easily have crept in. Apart from that, the article was written at a time when I was feeling very ill and the work did not go well. Then they wrote to me that E. K.** would write about the congress. His reports were the best. I was very pleased, but it was my article that appeared. So there you are.

So please let me have the details about the periodical for women, I think you will get down to it seriously. It may develop into something big. At any rate I am beginning to get an appetite for it.

Nadya

Written February 11, 1914
Sent from Krakow to St. Petersburg

First published in 1955
in the journal *Istorichesky Arkhiv* No. 4

Printed from a typewritten copy
(made by the police)

* Krupskaya's article "Results of the Congress on Public Education" was published in 1914 in *Prosveshcheniye* No. 1.—*Ed.*

** It is not known whom this refers to.—*Ed.*

49

TO LENIN'S MOTHER

Her Excellency Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova,
Samarin's House, Apt. 3,
Moskovskaya Street,
Vologda,
Russia

April 15

Dear Maria Alexandrovna,

The compliments of the season; we wish you health and everything else of the best. It is summer here. Yesterday it was as hot as Africa. All the leaves are out. We are all well.

I embrace you and Manyasha fondly.

Yours,
Nadya

Written April 15, 1914
Sent from Krakow

First published in 1930
in Lenin's *Letters to Relatives*

Printed from
the original

50

TO LENIN'S MOTHER

Her Excellency Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova,
Samarin's House, Apt. 3,
Moskovskaya Street,
Vologda,
Russia

June 8

Dear Maria Alexandrovna,

Many kisses for you and Manyasha. I received Manya's postcard and short letter and replied to them the same day.

How are you keeping?

It is pouring with rain from morning to night here, for a whole week I have been unable to step outside except in raincoat and galoshes.

Mother is poorly all the time, her heart troubles her. This year she has frequently suffered from [palpitation],* and because of her ill[ness and] the rain she is in a bad [mood].

[We are] travelling. I have made a [discovery]—Basedow's disease gets a lot [better] from excursions into the mountains, but

* A corner of the postcard has been torn off and the words in brackets have been filled in by the editor according to the sense.—*Ed.*

in such weather I cannot, of course, go anywhere. By the way, the disease has not made itself very much felt this year.

That is all.

Again I embrace you.

Yours,
Nadya

Written June 8, 1914
Sent from Poronin

First published in 1930
in Lenin's *Letters to Relatives*

Printed from
the original

1915

51

TO LENIN'S MOTHER

September 24, 1915

Dear Maria Alexandrovna,

Every day we are expecting a letter from you, but for a long time there has been no news of you, or of Anya, or of Manyasha. The last letter we had was about your going to the country for the summer.* You must be back in town by now. It will be September 11 by the Russian calendar.... Did you have a good rest in summer? I should very much like to know how you are keeping, my dear. Are you quite well?

There are no changes here. We shall soon be returning to town. The mountains do me a lot of good. The thyroid trouble seems to have gone altogether. This last week we have been having magnificent weather and Volodya and I have been up all the nearby mountains. Twice I climbed the Rothhorn, 7,500 feet, which gives you an excellent view of the Alps, without getting a bit tired, and that is something not every healthy person can manage. In view of this I regard my illness as eliminated and am assuming the status of a healthy person.

Now I have a request to make of Anya. During the winter I studied pedagogy quite a lot and during the summer have been writing a pamphlet on education. It is almost finished. It will be quite ready in a month and will amount to nearly a hundred pages. The subject is "The Elementary School and Democracy". I have managed to collect quite a lot of interesting material, very little of which has been

* By the way, a letter came later saying that Manyasha is visiting you.

analysed before. Do you think some publisher might snap it up? I don't know the present situation on the book market or whether a publisher can be found. I will try writing to Gorbunov, although the subject is one that is only of partial interest to his publishing house.

Today I received the last issue of *Rech* (August 31), which we have recently been reading with particular interest. It's a pity we shall not be getting it any more. We don't receive any other Russian newspapers. In general things are bad as far as Russian newspapers and journals are concerned. In town they are available in the reading-room, but there is a great demand for them and if you come a bit late there's nothing left; apart from that it is not always convenient to go to the reading-room. *Sovremenny Mir* was sent to an acquaintance from another town for one day. Altogether, on account of the post and the general breakdown everybody gets newspapers by chance.

We are thinking of returning to town in a week. If the weather is very good we shall try to stay a little longer. After all, it does not matter where we live.

Well, I must close. Many kisses for you and Anya and I embrace you both.

Yours,
Nadya

Sent from Sörenberg (Switzerland)
to Petrograd

First published in 1930
in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 4

Printed from
the original

52

TO LENIN'S MOTHER

Her Excellency
Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova,
Shirokaya Street No. 48/9, Apt. 24,
Peterburgskaya Storona,
Petrograd,
Russia

Mme. Oulianoff,
Seidenweg 4a^{III},
chez M-me Schneider,
Berne

October 11, 1915

Dear Maria Alexandrovna,

I very much want to write you a few lines and to give you and Anya many kisses. Many thanks to Anya for the trouble she is taking; today I received the *Zhurnal Zhurnalov* and about a week ago a whole

pile of the latest educational publications. I was terribly in need of them. Thanks, many, many thanks. Today or tomorrow I shall write her a long letter. How is Manyasha getting on? Volodya is all the time expecting letters from her. Do you know her address?

Again many kisses,

Yours,

Nadya

First published in the Fourth Edition of the *Collected Works*

Printed from the original

53

TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA

Maria Ilyinichna Ulyanova,
Malaya Gruzinskaya, 7, Apt. 13,
Moscow,
Russia

December 14

Dear Manyasha,

Did you receive the long letter I sent you in spring? I wrote then, amongst other things, that Mother had died, gave some details of our way of life, etc.*

Now I am writing for one special reason. We shall soon be coming to the end of our former means of subsistence and the question of earning money will become a serious one. It is difficult to find anything here. I have been promised a pupil, but that seems to be slow in materialising. I have also been promised some copying but nothing has come of it. I shall try something else, but it is all very problematic. I have to think about a literary income. I don't want that side of our affairs to be Volodya's worry alone. He works a lot as it is. The question of an income troubles him greatly.

This is what I wanted to ask you about. Lately I have been putting in a lot of study on education in general and the history of education in particular, so I am well equipped in this field. I have even written a whole pamphlet, "The Elementary School and Democracy". The first part of it is ready and is called "The Role of Productive

* The letter has been lost.—*Ed.*

Labour in Public Education". A hundred odd pages. I think it has turned out quite interesting. I should like to ask you to find me a publisher. I can send the manuscript by return of post if asked for. Perhaps *Svobodnoye Vospitaniye* or some other publisher would take it. By the way, I have sent an article on Rousseau to *Svobodnoye Vospitaniye*. They must have received the letter because they have begun sending me the journal, but I don't know whether they have received the manuscript. Can you find out whether they got the article and whether it will be published? I shall soon be sending them something on other, more topical subjects.

I asked Rakhil's brother* to go to *Svobodnoye Vospitaniye*, but he has quite a few affairs of his own to look after and is not a very suitable person for such negotiations.

It is a pity, too, that business with the Granats went wrong. Volodya wrote to them in summer** but got no answer, and so I don't know whether they left a place for my article "Labour School", what size it should be and by what date it had to be submitted. I am now busy working on the question of apprenticeship. The libraries in Switzerland are, in general, well equipped and work goes well. I also have plenty of time, but the real problem is to find whom to write for. It is difficult to arrange anything from here. Do what you can.

Do you know what has happened to Lidya? I have had no news of her since summer. Is she well? How is she doing?

I write to our people from time to time, although there is nothing much to write about.

I send you many kisses, dear Manyasha, drop me a couple of lines some time. Keep well!

Nadya

Do you ever see Zinaida Pavlovna? Has she completely recovered from the operation? Where are they? What are they doing?

Written December 14, 1915
Sent from Berne

First published in 1930
in Lenin's *Letters to Relatives*

Printed from
the original

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* L. S. Rivlin.—*Ed.*

** *Collected Works*, Vol. 36, p. 317.—*Ed.*

1916

54

TO LENIN'S SISTER MARIA

Her Excellency
Maria Ilyinichna Ulyanova,
Malaya Gruzinskaya, 7, Apt. 13,
Moscow,
Russia

Sent by Mme Oulianoff,
Seidenweg 4a[III] à Berne

February 8, 1916

Dear Manyasha,

Thanks for inquiring about the Gorbunovs,* they really did write. I have begun to receive their journal again and I see that it has been considerably reduced in size. On Volodya's advice I sent the pamphlet to Petrograd. Volodya wrote to the publisher about it.** Anya wrote that we may also try Bonch or the Popovs. The postcard you sent in spring about the Granats was received. Volodya wrote to you and to the Granats but got no answer. Perhaps you will ask them *the date by which it must be sent and what length it should be*. Write more often to Volodya, he is always anxious to receive your letters and you have now started writing very occasionally. It is true that it is somehow difficult to write. Do you know anything about Lidya, I have had no news of her since spring, although I have written to her. Many kisses. Volodya was very pleased to receive your long letter. Perhaps you will write again some time.

All the best,
N.

The newspapers and books have arrived. Volodya wrote to you when he received them.

First published in 1930
in Lenin's *Letters to Relatives*

Printed from
the original

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* I. I. and V. V. Gorbunov-Posadov.—*Ed.*
** *Collected Works*, Vol. 36, p. 367.—*Ed.*

NOTES

[1] *Ulyanova, Maria Alexandrovna* (1835-1916)—mother of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, daughter of A. D. Blank, a doctor, who held advanced views. A well-educated woman, she spoke several languages and was an accomplished musician. Study at home enabled her to qualify as a schoolteacher in 1863. She possessed rare talents as an educationalist and devoted herself entirely to her family and children. Having a strong character and great will power, she shared her children's ideas and brought them up to be honest, industrious and sympathetic towards the needs of the people. She was a warm supporter of her children in their revolutionary struggle and endured the misfortunes that came upon her family with courage and fortitude. Her children's attitude to her was one of love and affection and Lenin always displayed exceptional consideration for her. She is buried in Volkov Cemetery in Leningrad. Letter No. 1

[2] One of Lenin's younger sisters, Olga Ilyinichna Ulyanova (1871-1891) is buried in Volkov Cemetery, Leningrad. She was a talented and industrious girl with a strong character. In 1887 she graduated from secondary school with a gold medal and entered the Higher Courses for Women (Bestuzhev's) in St. Petersburg. She died of enteric at the age of 19. Letter No. 1

[3] The money referred to is what Lenin's mother should have received from Kokushkino and Alakayevka.

Kokushkino—a village 40 versts from Kazan in which A. D. Blank, Lenin's maternal grandfather, owned some land, a house and a separate cottage. When he died, this property was inherited by his daughters, and Lenin's mother's share was under the control of her sister, L. A. Ponomaryova.

Lenin was exiled to the village of Kokushkino for his participation in the student disturbances in December 1887. The cottage, in which Lenin lived during his exile, has been restored and is now a Lenin Museum.

Alakayevka—a village some 50 versts from Samara (now Kuibyshev) near which Lenin's mother acquired a farmhouse; the Ulyanov family lived there every summer from 1889 to 1893. When the family moved to Moscow from Samara the farmhouse was rented to Krushvits, mentioned by Lenin in this letter.

Letter No. 1

[4] *Ulyanova, Maria Ilyinichna* (1878-1937)—a leading figure in the Communist Party and public affairs; Lenin's youngest sister. She joined the revolutionary movement while still a student, became a professional revolutionary in 1898 and was later among the Bolsheviks; she did Party work in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Saratov and in other towns in Russia and abroad. In 1900 she began taking an active part in the work of the newspaper *Iskra* (The Spark) and from the autumn of 1903 was in the secretariat of the C.C. of the Party. In 1904 she worked in the St. Petersburg Bolshevik organisation. She was arrested and exiled several times for her revolutionary activities. From March 1917 to the spring of 1929 she was a member of the *Pravda* editorial board and the executive secretary of the paper. She became a member of the Central Control Commission at the 14th Party Congress and a member of the Soviet Control Commission at the 17th Party Congress. She was a member of the Moscow Soviet and in 1935 was elected to the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R.
Letter No. 2

[5] *Russkiye Vedomosti* (Russian Recorder)—a Moscow newspaper that began publication in 1863; moderate liberal in its views. It was suppressed in 1918 at the same time as other counter-revolutionary periodicals.
Letter No. 2

[6] The Mitya here referred to is *Dmitry Ilyich Ulyanov* (1874-1943)—professional revolutionary, Bolshevik, physician by training; Lenin's younger brother. He began his revolutionary activities in 1894 in Marxist student groups in Moscow; in 1900 he entered the *Iskra* organisation. At the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. he was delegate from the Tula Committee, an *Iskra* supporter and member of the majority. After the Congress he was appointed agent of the Central Committee. He was arrested and imprisoned several times for his revolutionary activities. From 1905 to 1907 he was a member of the Simbirsk Bolshevik Committee; he then worked as doctor in Serpukhov and Feodosia, all the time maintaining contact with the central Bolshevik organisations. He was mobilised in 1914 and conducted revolutionary work among the soldiers. After the October Socialist Revolution he was engaged in Party and government work in the Crimea; in 1921 he took up work at the People's Commissariat of Health in Moscow; from 1925 to 1930 worked at the Sverdlov Communist University and from 1933 onwards in the medical department of the Kremlin; he was active in promoting the Lenin Central Museum.
Letter No. 2

[7] This apparently refers to lithographed copies of lectures on Russian history by Vasily Klyuchevsky, the publication of which began in the 1880-81 academic year. In the Central Party Archives at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism there is a lithographed copy of Klyuchevsky's *Course of Modern Russian History* for

the 1883-84 academic year which bears notes in Lenin's hand.
Letter No. 2

[8] Lenin refers in this letter to a speech made by Klyuchevsky "In Memory of the Late Emperor Alexander III, May He Rest in Peace" which was published as a pamphlet. Students of Moscow University bought up several hundred copies and added to them mimeographed pages containing D. I. Fonvizin's fable "The Intriguing Fox"; these were distributed as a "revised and supplemented edition". A copy of this edition was presented to Klyuchevsky at a lecture and he was shouted and whistled down. Over fifty students were arrested and some of them were sent out of Moscow. Letter No. 3

[9] The Mark referred to in this letter is *Mark Timofeyevich Yelizarov* (1863-1919), professional revolutionary, Bolshevik, Soviet statesman, husband of Anna Ilyinichna Ulyanova-Yelizarova, Lenin's elder sister. He joined the Social-Democratic movement in 1893, did Party work in St. Petersburg, Moscow and the Volgaside towns, took an active part in the First Russian Revolution and was one of the leaders of the railwaymen's general strike in 1905. He was many times arrested and exiled. After the October Revolution he became People's Commissar of Railways and then a member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Trade and Industry. Letter No. 3

[10] The Anyuta here referred to is *Anna Ilyinichna Ulyanova-Yelizarova* (1864-1935)—professional revolutionary, leading figure in the Communist Party, Lenin's elder sister. She joined the revolutionary movement in 1886 and the Social-Democratic movement in 1893. In 1898 she became a member of the first Moscow Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. From 1900 to 1905 she worked in the *Iskra* organisation and on Bolshevik illegally issued newspapers and was a member of the editorial board of the newspaper *Vperyod*. Between 1904 and 1906 she maintained contact with the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party which was abroad, and acted as treasurer to the St. Petersburg Committee. From 1908 to 1910 she was engaged in revolutionary activities in Moscow and Saratov and from 1912 to 1914 collaborated in the Bolshevik periodicals *Pravda*, *Prosveshcheniye* (Enlightenment) and *Rabotnitsa* (The Working Woman). She was arrested and exiled a number of times. In 1917 she was secretary to the editorial board of *Pravda* and editor of the magazine *Tkach* (The Weaver). From 1918 to 1921 she worked in the People's Commissariat of Education. She was active in the work of founding the Lenin Institute and herself did research work there. She was the author of a number of reminiscences of Lenin. Letter No. 3

[11] On April 25 (May 7), 1895 Lenin went abroad on the instructions of St. Petersburg Marxists to establish connections with the Emancipation of Labour group and familiarise himself with the West-

European working-class movement. Lenin visited Switzerland, France and Germany and returned to Russia in the autumn of 1895. Letter No. 5

[12] This refers to Anna, the two-year-old daughter of A. A. Schucht whose family was in Geneva at the time. Lenin had known the Schucht family in Samara. Letter No. 6

[13] The address given was apparently that of Saul Grünfest, one of those who organised the Minsk printing press of the General Redistribution Group. In 1882 he went abroad and joined the Emancipation of Labour group, for which he did some administrative work. Letter No. 8

[14] *D. A. and Y. N. Ardashev*—maternal relatives of Lenin's. Letter No. 12

[15] Three days later, during the night of December 8-9, 1895, Lenin was arrested in connection with the case of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. He spent over fourteen months in solitary confinement in a remand prison after which he was exiled to Siberia. Letter No. 12

[16] This letter was sent from prison to A. K. Chebotaryova, wife of I. N. Chebotaryov, a close friend of the Ulyanov family; since Lenin had boarded with the Chebotaryovs she was officially recognised as a person to whom he was allowed to write a letter from prison. The letter, however, was actually addressed to acquaintances who had not been arrested, including Nadezhda Krupskaya, and its purpose was to find out who else had been arrested besides Lenin. To avoid mentioning names, Lenin linked up the nicknames of his acquaintances with the contents of scientific books he asked to be sent to him.

This is the first of the letters written in prison that have been preserved. Here Lenin outlines his plan of work on his book *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* which he began in prison and finished in exile. Letter No. 13

[17] *Free Economic Society*—a privileged learned body, one of the oldest in Europe, founded in St. Petersburg in 1765 for the dissemination throughout the state (says its charter) of information useful in agriculture and industry. Letter No. 13

[18] In Goncharov's novel *Oblomov* there is a passage which speaks of a gigantic pie that was baked on holidays; the master's family ate it for two days and on the third and fourth days it went to the servant girls; the pie lived on until Friday, when one corner of it, already hard and without any of the filling, found its way to Antip who crossed himself and with a loud noise set fearlessly about the destruction of that amazing fossil.... Letter No. 14

[19] Thursday and Monday were visiting days in the remand prison. Lenin's mother and his sister Maria visited him on Mondays, when they were allowed a half-an-hour's personal visit; his other sister, Anna, visited him on Thursdays, when she was allowed a longer time but had to converse with him through a grille. Anna brought him books and carried on a correspondence in code. Letter No. 16

[20] *Zemstvo*—a local government body headed by the local nobility in the central gubernias of tsarist Russia; Zemstvos were introduced in 1864. The competence of the Zemstvos was very limited (the building of hospitals and roads, statistics, insurance, etc.). The activities of the Zemstvos were under the supervision of the governor and the Ministry of the Interior, who could annul any orders the government did not approve of. Letter No. 16

[21] This letter was sent by Lenin on his way to exile in Siberia.

On January 29, 1897, the sentence of exile in Eastern Siberia for three years under the surveillance of the police was confirmed. Lenin obtained permission to go to his place of exile at his own expense and not under escort; he was ordered in his travel permit to report to the Governor-General of Irkutsk for further instructions. Lenin did not go as far as Irkutsk, but remained in Krasnoyarsk to await an answer to his application sent on March 6, for the permission of the Governor-General to remain in Krasnoyarsk or Minusinsk District of Yenisei Gubernia. Letter No. 17

[22] This appears to be the second part of a family letter. The first part of the letter addressed to Lenin's mother has not been found. Letter No. 18

[23] The extracts to be made from various books in the Rumyantsev Library (now the State Lenin Library) were needed by Lenin for his work on the book *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*. Letter No. 18

[24] When he was in Krasnoyarsk Lenin maintained friendly relations with P. A. Krasikov, V. A. Bukshnis, N. A. Merkhalev, A. A. Filippov, V. A. Karaulov, N. V. Yatsevich, P. Y. Kulakov and V. N. Kudryashev. Letter No. 19

[25] This refers to a party of exiles who were going to Siberia at the cost of the state. Among them were some of Lenin's closest associates in the St. Petersburg League of Struggle—G. M. Krzhizhanovsky, Y. O. Zederbaum (L. Martov), A. A. Vaneyev and V. V. Starkov. The party was held up because of badly organised transport. They did not arrive in Krasnoyarsk until April 4, 1897. At the station Lenin met those of his comrades who arrived with this party of exiles. Letter No. 19

[26] Lenin's assumption was a mistaken one; Gleb (G. M. Krzhizhanovsky) and all his companions went into exile at the expense of the state.

Krzhizhanovsky's mother, E. E. Rosenberg, followed her son into exile. Letter No. 20

[27] G. M. Krzhizhanovsky, V. V. Starkov, Y. O. Zederbaum and A. A. Vaneyev were held in Krasnoyarsk prison from April 4 to April 23, 1897, because they were on their way to exile at the cost of the state. An order of the Governor of Yeniseisk dated April 10 appointed the village of Tesinskoye in Minusinsk District as the place of exile of Starkov and Krzhizhanovsky; they left for Minusinsk with Lenin at their own expense on board the steamer *Svyatoi Nikolai* on April 30. Letter No. 21

[28] *Novoye Slovo* (New Word)—a scientific, literary and political monthly published in St. Petersburg from 1894 by liberal Narodniks; from the spring of 1897 it was run by "legal Marxists". It was suppressed by the government in 1897. Letter No. 21

[29] Lenin did not receive the official order to leave for the village of Shushenskoye in Minusinsk District until April 24, 1897; it was then that he received the certificate permitting him to travel to that place. Letter No. 22

[30] *Minusinsk prisoners*—V. V. Starkov and G. M. Krzhizhanovsky who were exiled to Minusinsk District.

Turukhansk people—Y. O. Zederbaum and A. A. Vaneyev who were exiled to Turukhansk. Letter No. 22

[31] Lenin apparently gave a detailed list of extracts from various publications in a previous letter which has been lost; he needed them for work on his *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*. Letter No. 22

[32] At that time Dmitry Ulyanov was an undergraduate of the Faculty of Medicine, Moscow University. Letter No. 22

[33] The fee referred to was probably in payment of his article "A Charaeterisation of Economic Romanticism (Sismondi and Our Native Sismondists)", the first part of which was published in the April 1897 issue (No. 7) of *Novoye Slovo*. Letter No. 22

[34] *Russkoye Bogatstvo* (Russian Wealth)—a monthly journal published in St. Petersburg from 1876 to 1918. From the early nineties it held Narodnik liberal views and in 1906 became an organ of the Popular Socialist Party.

Vestnik Finansov, Promyshlennosti i Torgovli (The Financial, Industrial and Commercial Herald)—a weekly published by the Ministry of Finance; it appeared in St. Petersburg from November 1883 to 1917. Letter No. 22

[35] *Archiv für soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik* (Social Legislation and Statistical Archives)—a monthly published from 1888 to 1933 in Berlin, Thüringen and Leipzig. Letter No. 22

[36] *The Bulochkins*—this refers to Zinaida Pavlovna Nevzorova (whose nickname was "Bulochka", Russian for "bread roll") and her sisters Sofia and Avgusta; Zinaida and Sofia were arrested in 1896 in connection with the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. Apparently Lenin used the surname "Bulochkin" in the plural to include Nadezhda Krupskaya, who was arrested on August 12, 1896. "What sort of *finale* was there?" means "What sentence was passed on them?" Letter No. 22

[37] Lenin, Krzhizhanovsky and Starkov arrived in Minusinsk on May 6, 1897 and were sent from there to their places of exile on May 8. Letter No. 23

[38] This letter has been lost. It was apparently a request to the *Novoye Slovo* editors to forward the fee for the first part of his article "A Characterisation of Economic Romanticism". Letter No. 24

[39] Lenin had not received any letters from Krzhizhanovsky and Starkov, who were sent to the village of Tesinskoye. Letter No. 24

[40] The "dispute" and "war" were started by P. P. Maslov ("Gold-Prospector") and the editors of the newspaper *Samarsky Vestnik* (Samara Herald) against the editors of *Novoye Slovo* headed by P. B. Struve; the latter were accused of feelings of sympathy for the bourgeoisie and of liberalism. In this dispute Lenin took the side of *Novoye Slovo* (see pp. 48-49.). Letter No. 24

[41] During his stay in Shushenskoye Lenin went shooting with O. A. Engberg and I. L. Prominsky, who were exiled in the same village, and the local peasants I. S. Yermolayev and P. T. Strogonov. Letter No. 25

[42] These words of Lenin's sister were apparently in answer to his letter of April 17, 1897 (Letter No. 22). Letter No. 25

[43] Lenin was paid the sum of 8 rubles a month as an exile; he lived mainly on this money. Letter No. 25

[44] The articles referred to are the separate parts of Lenin's article "A Characterisation of Economic Romanticism" published in four issues (7-10) of *Novoye Slovo*. Letter No. 25

[45] The book *Vliyaniye urozhayev i khlebnykh tsen na nekotoriye storony russkogo narodnogo khozyaistva* (The Influence of Harvests and Grain Prices on Certain Aspects of the Russian Economy)—edited by Professors A. I. Chuprov and A. S. Posnikov, was discussed at meetings of the Third Division of the Free Economic Society on March 1 and 2, 1897. Professor Chuprov read

the paper to the Society. Lenin needed the book and the verbatim report of the Society's meeting for his work on *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*. Letter No. 25

[46] Dmitry Ulyanov went to Kazan in connection with the sale of Kokushkino after the death of L. A. Ponomaryova. The very unpleasant ending of which Lenin writes was that both shares, that of Ponomaryova and of Lenin's mother, might be left to the latter with all their debts. Letter No. 27

[47] *Rybkina*—Nadezhda Krupskaya's Party nickname.

Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya (1869-1939)—professional revolutionary, prominent figure in the Communist Party and the Soviet state; the wife of Lenin.

She began her revolutionary activity in 1890 in student Marxist groups in St. Petersburg. From 1891 to 1896 she was a teacher at the Sunday Evening School outside the Neva Tollgate and conducted Social-Democratic propaganda among factory workers. She met Lenin when they were working together in the winter of 1894. In 1895 she was one of the organisers of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. In August 1896 she was arrested and sentenced to exile for three years; she started her term of exile with Lenin in Shushenskoye and finished it alone in Ufa. After her return from exile in 1901 she went abroad and worked as secretary of the newspaper *Iskra*. She played an active part in preparing the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., which she attended as a delegate with voice but no vote. After the Congress she was secretary of the editorial board of the Bolshevik newspapers *Vperyod* and *Proletary*. She played an active part in preparing for the Third Congress of the Party. While working abroad she maintained an extensive correspondence with Party organisations in Russia. During the years of reaction she took part in the struggle against the liquidators and the otzovists. In 1911 she worked in the Party school at Longjumeau; after the Prague Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. (1912) she helped Lenin establish contact with Party organisations in Russia, with *Pravda* and with the Bolshevik group in the Fourth Duma. In 1915 she was a delegate to the International Women's Conference in Berne.

Nadezhda Krupskaya returned to Russia with Lenin after the February Revolution of 1917 and worked in the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Party; she took an active part in preparing and carrying out the October Socialist Revolution. After the revolution she became a member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat of Education and in 1921 became head of the Chief Committee for Political Education; in 1929 she was appointed Deputy People's Commissar for Education. Nadezhda Krupskaya was one of the founders of the Soviet system of education and a leading theoretician in the field of pedagogy. She wrote a number of books on problems of public education and communist upbringing, and on the women's and youth movements.

She also wrote her reminiscences of Lenin. She participated in all Party Congresses (except the 1st and 5th), became a member of the Central Control Commission in 1924 and a member of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) in 1927. She was a member of all convocations of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. and was a deputy to the First Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and a member of its Presidium. Letter No. 27

[48] *The Neva Society for the Organisation of Popular Entertainments*, the report of whose committee is mentioned here, was founded in St. Petersburg in 1885; at first it was a private circle and later, in 1891, was formed into an independent society with a set of rules and an official name. The society had its own theatres, concert halls and sports premises in the area beyond the Neva Tollgate, where most factories were concentrated. The society arranged carnivals, lectures, concerts, plays, dances, etc.; it, also organised workers' choirs, reading-rooms and kindergartens. One of the Society's reading-rooms was used by members of Marxist study circles for meetings and talks with workers. Before her arrest in 1896, Nadezhda Krupskaya and other Marxist women teachers made extensive use of the reading-room. Letter No. 27

[49] *Spiez*—a village on the shore of Lake Thun in Switzerland, where Lenin's mother and his sister Maria were spending a holiday at that time. Letter No. 28

[50] Lenin attended the wedding of V. V. Starkov and A. M. Rosenberg, which took place in Tesinskoye on July 30, 1897. Letter No. 28

[51] Lenin refers here to Ivan Kuzmich Shpekin, the postmaster in Gogol's comedy *The Inspector-General*. Letter No. 29

[52] In August and September 1897, Lenin worked on the article, "The Handicraft Census of 1894-95 in Pen Gubernia and General Problems of 'Handicraft' Industry". Material from this article was also used in *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*.

The article was intended for the journal *Novoye Slovo* but was not published in that journal, which was suppressed in December 1897. The article was first published in 1898 in a miscellany of Lenin's writings entitled *Economic Studies and Essays* (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, pp. 355-458). Letter No. 29

[53] Lenin sent Mark Yelizarov "The Handicraft Census of 1894-95 in Perm Gubernia" to be passed on to P. B. Struve; the letter to Struve has been lost. Letter No. 30

[54] Lenin here refers to a report from Tula published in the "Home News" column of the newspaper *Russkiye Vedomosti* for August 6, 1897. The report spoke of an investigation to be carried out by

the Zemstvo authorities of the gubernia for the purpose of making an assessment of property. The gubernia Zemstvo engaged a number of statisticians for this work but for some reason they were not confirmed by the local administration and the investigation was postponed until the following year. Letter No. 30

[55] On August 6, 1897, Lenin's mother sent the Governor of Yeniseisk a petition to have Lenin transferred to Krasnoyarsk for treatment on account of his poor health and because of her wish to visit him in exile. Her request was refused. Lenin's letter to his mother, mentioned here, has been lost. Letter No. 30

[56] After a number of applications the Governor of Yeniseisk permitted G. M. Krzhizhanovsky and V. V. Starkov to move to Minusinsk; they arrived there on August 31, 1898.
Letter No. 30

[57] For going to Minusinsk without leave V. V. Starkov was arraigned before the court and sentenced to three days arrest. Such breaches of the regulations were punishable by a written or verbal "reproof" or by a fine but not by arrest. Lenin's intervention released Starkov from an illegal sentence. Letter No. 32

[58] *Former women students*—Yekaterina and Glafira Okulova who lived with their father in the village of Shoshino, where they were under police surveillance. Glafira Okulova (*Zaichik*—Bunny) was later an active *Iskra* supporter and Bolshevik.
Letter No. 32

[59] G. M. Krzhizhanovsky and V. V. Starkov worked for the commission on regulating the bed of the River Minusinka in the town of Minusinsk, where they went twice from Tesinskoye to attend meetings of the commission. Letter No. 32

[60] Here and below the manuscript referred to is that of Lenin's article "The Handicraft Census of 1894-95 in Perm Gubernia".
Letter No. 33

[61] When A. A. Vaneyev was in Yeniseisk he found work in the office of the engineer in charge of improving navigation on the River Angara. Letter No. 33

[62] Lenin's brother, Dmitry, was arrested on November 7, 1897, in connection with the case of the Moscow Workers' Union; he was kept in prison until August 20, 1898, was expelled from Moscow University and banished to Tula; later he was kept under police surveillance in the town of Podolsk, Moscow Gubernia.
Letter No. 34

[63] Lenin's letters to Struve and Krupskaya proposing the publication of a translation of the second part of Antonio Labriola's

book in *Novoye Slovo* have been lost. The translation appeared in 1898 in St. Petersburg in an edition by Berezin and Semyonov; it was given the title *K voprosu o materialisticheskom vzglyade na istoriyu* (On the Question of the Materialistic View of History). The English title of this essay of Labriola's is *Historical Materialism*. Letter No. 34

[64] The books referred to are *Ulozheniye o nakazaniyakh ugolovnykh i ispravitelnykh* (Ordinance on Criminal and Correctional Penalties) and *Ustav o nakazaniyakh, nalagayemykh mirovymi sudyami* (Code of Penalties Imposable by Magistrates). Lenin needed these books for his work as a consulting lawyer in Shushenskoye. He later recalled, "...when I was in exile in Siberia I had occasion to act in the capacity of a lawyer. I was not a certified lawyer, because, being summarily exiled, I was not allowed to practise; but as there was no other lawyer in the region, people came and confided their troubles to me." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 295.) Letter No. 34

[65] Lenin apparently refers to his essay "Gems of Narodnik Project-mongering", which he wrote for *Novoye Slovo*; he did not at the time know that the journal had been suppressed by the government in December 1897.

In 188 the essay was included in the miscellany *Economic Studies and Essays* (*Collected Works*, Vol. 2, pp. 459-89). Letter No. 35

[66] It has not been established what journal is meant. It is possible that as early as 1897 the issue of another periodical was planned in view of the constant persecution of *Novoye Slovo* by the authorities and of its shaky position. After the suppression of *Novoye Slovo* its place was taken by *Nachalo* (The Beginning), which appeared in the first half of 1899 edited by P. B. Struve, M. I. Tugan-Baranovsky and others. Letter No. 35

[67] Lenin wrote about these photographs to his sister Anna in a letter dated May 25, 1897 (see Letter No. 25). He expected, moreover, to be sent a group photograph of the leaders of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class (V. I. Lenin, G. M. Krzhizhanovsky, V. V. Starkov, A. A. Vaneyev, P. K. Zaporozhets, Y. O. Zederbaum, A. L. Malchenko), which was taken in 1897 in St. Petersburg before they left for Siberia. Letter No. 35

[68] This refers to D. V. Trukhovskaya, the wife of A. A. Vaneyev, who was sentenced to three months' imprisonment in St. Petersburg; she followed her husband into exile and did her three months in Yeniseisk prison. Letter No. 35

[69] Lenin sent his article "The Heritage We Renounce" to *Novoye Slovo*. Since the journal had been suppressed the article was

not printed. It appeared later in the miscellany *Economic Studies and Essays*. (*Collected Works*, Vol. 2, pp. 491-534.)
Letter No. 36

[70] This probably refers to the efforts made by Lenin's sister Anna on behalf of their brother Dmitry, who had been arrested and whose case was being examined in St. Petersburg (See Note 62).
Letter No. 37

[71] The lectures referred to are "The Development of Our Factory Legislation" by M. I. Tugan-Baranovsky and "The Law of June 2, 1897 and the Rules of September 20 on the Length of the Working Day" by P. B. Struve that had been fixed for December 6, 1897 in the Third Division (Agricultural Statistics and Political Economy) of the Free Economic Society. The announcements containing the theses of these lectures have been lost.

The article by Struve which Lenin speaks of as cut out by the censor was a regular review in the "Current Home News" column of the November 1897 issue of *Novoye Slovo*.
Letter No. 37

[72] The lecture referred to was "Peasant Landed Property and Measures to Prevent Peasants Losing Their Land" delivered by M. A. Lozinsky on December 13, 1897 in the Third Division of the Free Economic Society. Letter No. 37

[73] This refers to Struve's article in the "Current Home News" columns of *Novoye Slovo*. Letter No. 37

[74] *Syn Otechestva* (Son of the Fatherland)—a daily liberal newspaper published in St. Petersburg from 1856 to 1900 and again from November 18 (December 1), 1904. From November 15 (28), 1905 the paper became an organ of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party. The newspaper was suppressed on December 2 (15), 1905.
Letter No. 37

[75] On January 8, 1898, Lenin sent a telegram to the Director of the Police Department asking for permission for his fiancée, Nadezhda Krupskaya, to spend her period of exile in the village of Shushenskoye. Krupskaya sent a request to the Minister of the Interior to be allowed to spend her term of exile in Shushenskoye with her betrothed and to have her sentence reduced from three to two years. She was given permission to spend her period of exile in Shushenskoye instead of Ufa Gubernia where she had formerly been ordered to go, but the sentence was not reduced.
Letter No. 38

[76] *Krupskaya, Yelizaveta Vasilyevna* (1842-1915)—mother of Nadezhda Krupskaya, who lived with her daughter and Lenin in exile and abroad; she helped them in their revolutionary work; she was given various jobs to do—looking after illegal litera-

ture, taking things to prisons for arrested comrades, etc. She always took good care of Lenin, who had great respect for her. Letter No. 38

[77] The plan was put into effect; in the autumn of 1898 the first collection of Lenin's articles under the general title of *Economic Studies and Essays* by Vladimir Ilyin was published in St. Petersburg. It contained the essays "A Characterisation of Economic Romanticism", "Gems of Narodnik Project-mongering", "The Heritage We Renounce", etc. Letter No. 38

[78] This refers to Yukhotsky, who began a campaign of slander against N. Y. Fedoseyev while in the Moscow transit prison; he accused him of embezzling money collected for the needs of exiles. Although such accusations were obviously false, Yukhotsky did not cease his persecution of Fedoseyev even in exile at Verkholensk where they were sent at the same time. Yukhotsky's persecution was one of the causes of Fedoseyev's tragic death. Letter No. 38

[79] Lenin's review of A. Bogdanov's book *Kratky kurs ekonomicheskoi nauki*, 1897, was written in February 1898 and published in the April number of *Mir Bozhy* (The Wide World). (See *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, pp. 46-54.) Letter No. 39

[80] The Nanny referred to was Varvara Grigoryevna Sarbatova, a peasant woman from Penza Gubernia who was Nanny in the Ulyanov family for almost twenty years. Letter No. 39

[81] By Ivan Andreich (as in Letter No. 29) Lenin means Ivan Kuzmich, the postmaster in Gogol's comedy *The Inspector-General* who was fond of opening other people's letters. Lenin apparently wanted to warn Mark Yelizarov of the need for greater caution in his correspondence. Letter No. 39

[82] *Russkaya Mysl* (Russian Thought)—a literary and political monthly published in Moscow from 1880 to 1918; up to 1905 it held liberal Narodnik views. In the nineties it sometimes published articles by Marxists. After the 1905 Revolution it became an organ of the Right wing of the Cadet Party. Letter No. 39

[83] This refers to S. Bulgakov's book *Markets Under Capitalist Production. A Theoretical Study*. Lenin reviewed this book in his article "A Note on the Question of the Market Theory (Apropos of the Polemic of Messrs. Tugan-Baranovsky and Bulgakov)". (See *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, pp. 55-64.) Letter No. 40

[84] *Die Neue Zeit* (New Times)—the theoretical journal of the German Social-Democratic Party published in Stuttgart from 1883

to 1923. Up to October 1917 it was edited by Karl Kautsky, later by H. Cunow. Letter No. 40

[85] In one of his August 1897 letters that has been lost Lenin apparently spoke of a letter he had received from A. A. Vaneyev, informing him of the illegal actions of the Yeniseisk District Chief of Police Stoyanov, who demanded that Vaneyev hand over his shotgun. Letter No. 40

[86] In this letter and the next the corrections mentioned are to the article "A Characterisation of Economic Romanticism"; they were made when the article was republished in the symposium *Economic Studies and Essays*. Letter No. 40

[87] Lenin refers to "The Handicraft Census of 1894-95 in Perm Gubernia and General Problems of 'Handicraft' Industry". (See *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, pp. 355-458.) Letter No. 40

[88] This refers to Lenin's articles "The Heritage We Renounce" and "Gems of Narodnik Project-mongering", both of which were published in the symposium *Economic Studies and Essays*. The note on A. A. Mikulin's book has not been found. Letter No. 40

[89] *Yuridichesky Vestnik* (The Legal Herald)—a liberal-bourgeois monthly published in Moscow from 1867 to 1892. Letter No. 42

[90] *Statistichesky Vremennik Rossiiskoi Imperii* (Statistical Calendar of the Russian Empire)—published by the Central Statistical Committee of the Ministry of the Interior. Lenin used material from the *Statistichesky Vremennik* for 1866, 1868 and 1872 for his book *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*.

The book mentioned, *Dnevnik vysochaishe razreshonnogo Vtorogo syezda russkikh deyatelei po tekhnicheskomu i professionalnomu obrazovaniyu, izdavayemyi komitetom syezda* (Diary of the Royally Sanctioned Second Congress of Russian Specialists on Technical and Vocational Education published by the Committee of the Congress), was probably sent to Lenin with a letter in invisible ink. Letter No. 42

[91] *Niva* (Cornfield)—an illustrated weekly that published the works of various classical and other well-known writers as supplements; founded in 1869. Letter No. 42

[92] Lenin did not translate Adam Smith's book. Apparently at the time the letter was written he did not know exactly the author or the name of the book he was to translate. This is confirmed by the fact that a few days later he speaks of having received *The History of Trade Unionism* by Sidney and Beatrice Webb for translation. Letter No. 42

[93] Lenin received Book I of the Webbs' *The History of Trade Unionism*. In the course of a few months he translated the book and wrote a number of commentaries to the Russian translation. When Nadezhda Krupskaya arrived in Shushenskoye they worked together on the translation of the first volume of the book. Letter No. 44

[94] Alexander Ivanovich and Nikolai Ivanovich Veretennikov were Lenin's cousins on his mothers side. At the time Alexander was seriously ill, and for this reason Lenin was greatly surprised to receive a letter that he had found himself work. Letter No. 45

[95] *Moskovskiye Vedomosti* (Moscow Recorder)—a newspaper founded in 1756. From 1863 it expressed the views of the most reactionary landowners and clergy. In 1905 it became one of the chief organs of the Black Hundreds. It was published up to the Great October Socialist Revolution. Letter No. 45

[96] Nadezhda Krupskaya and her mother joined Lenin at the village of Shushenskoye on May 7, 1898. Letter No. 47

[97] At the end of May, Lenin and Krupskaya went to Minusinsk, where they took part in a conference of exiled members of the Narodnaya Volya Party and Social-Democrats that was held on account of the flight from exile of the Social-Democrat S. G. Raichin. Letter No. 49

[98] Lenin refers to the translation of Volume I of the Webbs' book and work on his own book *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*. Letter No. 50

[99] This refers to S. M. Friedmann whose address was used by exiles to receive literature and money. The "trouble" Lenin mentions was caused by the flight of S. G. Raichin (see Letter No. 49), who received money from abroad at Friedmann's address without her permission. In view of this the Minusinsk colony of exiles requested other exiles not to use Friedmann's address so as to avoid drawing the attention of the police to her. Letter No. 52

[100] Lenin was allowed to travel to Minusinsk to have his teeth treated; he stayed there three days, from the 10th to the 12th of August. Since there was no experienced dentist in Minusinsk, Lenin applied to the Governor of Yeniseisk for permission to go to Krasnoyarsk for a week to have his teeth treated. Permission was granted and at the beginning of September Lenin left Shushenskoye for Krasnoyarsk, where he stayed at the house of a Social-Democrat in exile, P. A. Krasikov. Lenin took advantage of the trip to work in Yudin's library and to meet Krasnoyarsk Social-Democrats. Letter No. 53

[101] *Ob*—a railway station on the left bank of the river of that name; as there was no bridge across the river at that time, express trains went only as far as Ob station. Letter No. 53

[102] Dmitry Ulyanov was banished to Tula and was then kept under police surveillance at Podolsk in Moscow Gubernia.
Letter No. 54

[103] The article referred to is "On the Question of Our Factory Statistics (Professor Karyshev's New Statistical Exploits)"—see *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, pp. 13-45. Lenin made extensive use of the material contained in this article and the conclusions drawn from it in *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*. The article was not published either in *Mir Bozhy* or *Nauchnoye Obozreniye* but first appeared in *Economic Studies and Essays*.

Mir Bozhy (The Wide World—literally God's World)—a liberal literary and popular scientific monthly. It was published in St. Petersburg from 1892 to 1906; from 1906 to 1918 it appeared under the name of *Sovremenny Mir* (The Contemporary World).

Nauchnoye Obozreniye (Science Review)—published in St. Petersburg from 1894 to 1904; from 1903 it became a general literary magazine. It published Lenin's articles "Uncritical Criticism" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 3, pp. 609-32), "A Note on the Question of the Market Theory" and "Once More on the Theory of Realisation" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 4, pp. 55-64 and 74-93).
Letter No. 54

[104] This was a book by the writer N. S. Sokhanskaya (pen-name Kokhanovskaya) which was used by Lenin's sister Anna to send Lenin messages written in invisible ink between the lines.
Letter No. 55

[105] This refers to *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* by Vladimir Ilyin, which M. I. Vodovozova published at the end of March 1899. Letter No. 58

[106] The first six sections of Chapter III of *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* were published as a separate article in the journal *Nachalo* (The Beginning) No. 3, March 1899, under the title "The Ousting of Corvée by Capitalist Economy in Contemporary Russian Agriculture". An editorial note accompanying the article said, "This is an extract from the author's extensive investigation of the development of capitalism in Russia." Letter No. 58

[107] Lenin later made an addition to the Preface of *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* which was published as a postscript.
Letter No. 58

[108] Lenin's sister Anna undertook to correct the author's proofs of *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*; her brother Dmitry helped her; the proofs of the statistical tables were read by V. A.

Yonov whom Lenin had known long before in his Samara days. Letter No. 58

[109] This apparently refers to Mark Yelizarov's teaching at evening and Sunday schools for workers. Letter No. 60

[110] The letter mentioned here has not been found. It is known from the letter of November 11, 1898, that, Lenin received the copies due to him as author of the book *Economic Studies and Essays* which he requested be sent to a number of comrades and acquaintances. Letter No. 60

[111] *Frankfurter Zeitung*—a daily newspaper, organ of big German stockbrokers; published in Frankfurt am Main from 1856 to 1943. It reappeared in 1949 as *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and is the mouthpiece of the West German monopolists. Letter No. 60

[112] *Stuttgart Parteitag*—the Stuttgart Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party held October 3-8, 1898, which first discussed revisionism in the German Social-Democratic Party. A special statement, sent to the congress by Eduard Bernstein who was living in exile, was read; it contained an exposition and defence of the opportunist views he had earlier expounded in *Die Neue Zeit* in a series of articles under the general heading of "Problems of Socialism". There was no unity among Bernstein's opponents at the congress; fearing a split in the party, some of them, led by Bebel and Kautsky, tried to combine the theoretical struggle against Bernsteinism with cautious internal party practice; others (Rosa Luxemburg, Parvus), a minority, adopted a much more militant position and tried to get a more profound and extensive discussion and showed no fear of a split. The congress did not pass any resolution on this issue but from the discussion and from other resolutions it was clear that most of the delegates remained loyal to the ideas of revolutionary Marxism. Letter No. 60

[113] The book *Vladimir Ilyin. Economic Studies and Essays* was published in an edition of 1,200 copies. Letter No. 61

[114] As we know from a later letter (December 12, 1898, No. 64 in this volume), the letter containing the list of misprints in *Economic Studies and Essays* was lost in the post. Lenin subsequently made corrections only to the article "A Characterisation of Economic Romanticism", when it was published in the book *The Agrarian Question*, Part I, 1908. Letter No. 61

[115] The trip was sanctioned and Lenin and Krupskaya stayed in Minusinsk from December 24, 1898 to January 2, 1899. They took part in a meeting of Marxist exiles, who came from various parts of Minusinsk District. Letter No. 64

[116] These corrections were never made to the Preface of *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*. Letter No. 64

[117] The forty-fourth page of the manuscript (the fair copy) coincided with page 20 of the first edition of *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* (*Collected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 58). The correction indicated by Lenin was not made to the first or the second editions. Letter No. 64

[118] The writers referred to are M. I. Tugan-Baranovsky, author of *The Russian Factory, Past and Present*, and S. N. Bulgakov, author of *Markets Under Capitalist Production. A Theoretical Study*. Letter No. 64

[119] *Zhizn* (Life)—a literary, scientific and political journal published in St. Petersburg from 1897 to 1901. In April 1902 the publication of the journal was again started abroad by the Social-Democratic group *Zhizn* (V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich, V. A. Posse, V. M. Velichkina, G. A. and M. A. Kuklin, and others).

The group ceased to exist in December 1902 and the publishing office was closed down. Letter No. 65

[120] Lenin here refers to the German firm of *Reclam* that published several thousand booklets on literature (*Universal Bibliothek*) at 20 pfennigs each. Letter No. 65

[121] This was written in Shushenskoye on a postcard. The postscript shows that Lenin took it with him to Minusinsk and did not post it until December 28. Letter No. 66

[122] *Journal Officiel de la République Française*—Official Journal of the French Republic, published in Paris. Letter No. 66

[123] The lecture referred to was "The Basic Features in the Development of Russian Serf Economy from the Beginning of the 19th Century to 1861", delivered by P. B. Struve on December 7, 1898 at the Moscow Jurists' Society. A report of the lecture was published in *Russkiye Vedomosti* on December 9, 1898.

N. Y. Fedoseyev's views on the causes of the collapse of serfdom can be assessed only from an article entitled "Historical Information", published in the newspaper *Samarsky Vestnik*, January 16 and 17, 1897, and a letter to Andreyevsky headed "Where Did the Russian Working Class Come From and How?" No basic work by N. Y. Fedoseyev on the subject has yet been found. Letter No. 67

[124] Lenin here refers to M. I. Tugan-Baranovsky's book *Promyshlenniye krizisy v sovremennoi Anglii, ikh prichiny i vliyaniye na narodnuyu zhizn* (Industrial Crises in Present-day England, Their Causes and Their Effect on the Life of the People). Letter No. 67

[125] See Krupskaya's Letters Nos. 12 and 14 for a description of how Lenin, Krupskaya and their comrades in Minusinsk spent New Year's Eve. Letter No. 68

[126] The debate was on the occasion of Tugan-Baranovsky's presentation of his thesis *The Russian Factory, Past and Present* for the degree of Doctor of Political Economy at Moscow University on December 19, 1898. Letter No. 69

[127] This addition to Chapter Two of Lenin's book *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* was apparently the footnote on the book by V. V. (V. P. Vorontsov), *The Destiny of Capitalism in Russia* (*Collected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 184). Letter No. 69

[128] The parcel was sent to Lenin by his mother, who later wrote to her daughter Maria, "I sent a chess set for Volodya and some sweets for Nadya to Shushenskoye on December 17, expecting that they would receive them for the holidays, certainly for the New Year, but they did not receive them until a month later, about January 17." Letter No. 70

[129] A. A. Vaneyev applied to be transferred to a place with a milder climate and the Governor-General of Irkutsk ordered him to be sent to Tunka, in Irkutsk Gubernia. Only after a second request, accompanied by a doctor's certificate, did he manage to get transferred to Yermakovskoye in Minusinsk District at the beginning of June 1899, where he died three and a half months later. Letter No. 70

[130] *Chetvert*—a Russian measure of capacity used prior to the introduction of the metric system; it equalled about 45 gallons. Letter No. 72

[131] *Nachalo* (The Beginning)—a monthly scientific, literary and political magazine, organ of the "legal Marxists"; it appeared in St. Petersburg in the first half of 1899, edited by P. B. Struve, M. I. Tugan-Baranovsky and others. It carried several of Lenin's book reviews and the first six sections of Chapter III of his *The Development of Capitalism in Russia.* Letter No. 73

[132] As can be seen from the next letter, this refers to R. Gvozdyov's book *Kulak Usury, Its Social and Economic Significance*; Lenin's review of the book was published in *Nachalo* No. 3 for 1899. (See *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, pp. 67-69.) Letter No. 73

[133] A. A. Vaneyev was not transferred to the village of Antsiferovo because of ill health. Letter No. 73

[134] This refers to the appendices to Chapter VII of *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*—"Table of Statistics on the Factory Industry of European Russia" and "The Chief Centres of Factory

Industry in European Russia" (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 3, pp. 601-02 and 603-07). Letter No. 74

[135] Lenin apparently returned one of the issues of Wolfe's *Izvestiya* with a letter in invisible ink. For purposes of secrecy he wrote that he had been asked for it. Letter No. 75

[136] This refers to Lenin's review of Parvus's book *The World Market and the Agricultural Crisis. Economic Essays*. The review was published in *Nachalo* No. 3 for 1899 (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, pp. 65-66). Letter No. 75

[137] It can be seen from the next letter that Lenin's sister Anna sent him the pamphlet as a sample of the type in which his *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* was being set. Letter No. 76

[138] Lenin refers here to the "Chart Illustrating Tables A and B" in Chapter II of *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 3, between pp. 136 and 137). Letter No. 76

[139] A. N. Potresov sent his criticism of the article "The Heritage We Renounce" in a letter to Lenin; he said, in particular, that the article produced the impression that the author proposed accepting the heritage of Skaldin. Lenin agreed in part with Potresov's criticism but wrote in reply that he nowhere proposed accepting Skaldin's heritage and had used his name and not that of Chernyshevsky and his followers for reasons of censorship (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 34, pp. 28-29). Letter No. 76

[140] This accusation was made by one of the "Samarans" (see Note 40), P. P. Maslov, in an article entitled "Idealizatsiya naturalnogo khozyaistva" published in *Nauchnoye Obozreniye* No. 3 for 1899. Lenin seems to have been informed by Y. O. Martov about this article. Letter No. 76

[141] Here Lenin refers to Chapter V of his article "The Heritage We Renounce" (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, pp. 491-534). Letter No. 76

[142] It has not been established with any degree of accuracy which addendum to Chapter VII of *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* Lenin was referring to. It is quite possible that he referred to the footnote to the last paragraph but one of the chapter in which Lenin stated that Marx's classification of the capitalist forms and stages of industry was more correct than that of Held and Bücher, which confuses the manufactory with the factory and regards working for a buyer-up as a special form of industry" (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 549). Letter No. 76

[143] This refers to the fee due to Lenin for his translation of *The His-*

tory of Trade Unionism by Sidney and Beatrice Webb. The book was published by O. N. Popova in 1899. Letter No. 76

[144] This appears to refer to Lenin's review of the directory *Torgovo-promyshlennaya Rossiya. Spravochnaya kniga dlya kuptsov i fabrikantov* (Commercial and Industrial Russia. Handbook for Merchants and Factory Owners), published in *Nachalo* No. 3 for 1899 (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, pp. 70-73). Letter No. 77

[145] Lenin here refers to his article "A Note on the Question of the Market Theory" published in *Nauchnoye Obozreniye* No. 1 for 1899 (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, pp. 55-64). Struve's article in reply to it, "Markets Under Capitalist Production (Apropos of Bulgakov's Book and Ilyin's Article)", appeared in the same issue of the journal.

The market theory gave rise to a lively polemic in which A. Izgoyev, P. Nezhdanov, B. Avilov and P. Skvortsov also participated. In No. 8 of *Nauchnoye Obozreniye* Lenin published another article, "Once More on the Theory of Realisation" (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, pp. 74-93). Struve delayed publication of this article, apparently in order to print his "Answer to Ilyin" in the same issue. The polemics on this problem continued—*Zhizn* No. 12 for 1899 carried P. Nezhdanov's article "The Polemics over the Market Question" and Lenin's "Reply to Mr. P. Nezhdanov" (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, pp. 160-65). Letter No. 77

[146] *Die Neue Zeit* was a journal published by the German Social-Democratic Party; although subscription to it was permitted in Russia it was frequently confiscated if addressed to a politically unreliable person. For this reason Lenin referred to it in Russian (*Novoye Vremya*). Lenin's relatives had the journal sent to them in Moscow, and sent it on to Lenin in Shushenskoye. Letter No. 78

[147] Lenin refers here to one of the books of agricultural returns which was published by the gubernia Zemstvos, and which he used in writing his book *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*. Letter No. 78

[148] Lenin probably refers here to the table showing categories of industries in Chapter V of his *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* (see *Collected Works*, Vol 3, p. 347). This table was printed in the smallest available type, as Lenin requested. Letter No. 78

[149] This refers to the table in the second section of Chapter II of *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* (First Edition) on the distribution of allotment land among the various groups of householders and the table in the first section of that chapter illustrating the ousting of the middle group of householders in the Dnieper Uyezd of Taurida Gubernia (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 3, pp. 86 and 71). Letter No. 78

[150] Lenin added only a postscript to the Preface of his book (*Collected Works*, Vol. 3, pp. 26-27); he mentions this in Letter No. 82.
Letter No. 78

[151] Lenin here refers to his article "Once More on the Theory of Realisation", in which he does not quote *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* because he does not know when it will be published; instead he quotes "A Characterisation of Economic Romanticism", published in the collection *Economic Studies and Essays*.
Letter No. 78

[152] There follows, in the original, a list of the misprints. Some of the corrections were made in the handwriting of Lenin's sister Anna.
Letter No. 78

[153] Mark Yelizarov won a game of chess against the German chess player Emanuel Lasker during a session of simultaneous play on several boards. Lasker was in Moscow at the end of January and in early February 1899. Letter No. 79

[154] By "true believers" Lenin apparently means the "Samarans" (see Notes 40 and 140). Letter No. 79

[155] Lenin's article "Once More on the Theory of Realisation" was written in reply to P. B. Struve's "Markets Under Capitalist Production (Apropos of Bulgakov's Book and Ilyin's Article)" (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, pp. 74-93). Letter No. 80

[156] Apparently communications were written in invisible ink between the lines of Wolfe's bibliographical journal *Izvestiya*.
Letter No. 82

[157] The table of contents gave details of the contents of each section.
Letter No. 82

[158] This was Karl Kautsky's *Die Agrarfrage*, 1899; Lenin's review of this book was published in *Nachalo* No. 4 for 1899 (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, pp. 94-99); his conspectus of it was published in *Lenin Miscellany XIX*. In the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, C.C., C.P.S.U., there is a copy of the book with notes in it made by Lenin. Letter No. 82

[159] Lenin wrote to Y. O. Martov in Turukhansk but their correspondence during exile in Siberia has been lost. Letter No. 83

[160] The event referred to was a student strike that took place in thirty higher educational establishments in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Odessa, Kiev, Kharkov, Riga, Tomsk and other towns.

The disturbances in Finland were caused by the suspension of

the Finnish Constitution on February 3 (15), 1899. Evidently the censor inked over the reports of these events published in *Frankfurter Zeitung*. Letter No. 83

[161] Lenin apparently made use of the journal *Prakticheskaya Zhizn* and I. Tsion's book *Nigilisty i nigilizm* to send letters in invisible ink. Letter No. 85

[162] The article referred to is B. Avilov's "Novy opyt 'ekonomicheskoi garmonii' (N. Kablukov, *Ob usloviyakh razvitiya krestyanskogo khozyaistva v Rossii*. M., 1899), published in *Nachalo* No. 1-2 for 1899. Letter No. 85

[163] Bulgakov's article was "*K voprosu o kapitalisticheskoi evolyutsii zemledeliya*", published in *Nachalo* Nos. 1-2 and 3 for 1899. Letter No. 85

[164] Lenin made a critical analysis of the views of S. N. Bulgakov, the "legal Marxist", in two articles under the common title of "Capitalism in Agriculture (Kautsky's Book and Mr. Bulgakov's Article)". They were intended for publication in *Nachalo* but since that journal was banned they appeared in Nos. 1 and 2 of *Zhizn* for 1900 (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, pp. 105-59).

The importance which Lenin attached to his articles against Bulgakov can be seen from his letter to A. N. Potresov of April 27, 1899 (*Collected Works*, Vol. 34, pp. 32-33), in which he expresses an exceedingly negative opinion of Bulgakov's revisionist writings. Letter No. 85

[165] Lenin refers here to the proposed visit of his mother and sister Anna to Shushenskoye. Letter No. 86

[166] The article "Capitalism in Agriculture" was published much later (in January and February 1900), when *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* had already appeared, so the references were not crossed out. Letter No. 86

[167] Lenin began editing the second volume of the Webbs' *Industrial Democracy* only at the beginning of September 1899. In the course of this work he had not only to edit the translation but also to retranslate a considerable part of the text and write a number of footnotes. The work was finished on January 19, 1900. Letter No. 87

[168] P. B. Struve handed Lenin's article "Once More on the Theory of Realisation" over to *Nauchnoye Obozreniye* because of the unstable position of *Nachalo* following the confiscation of the April 1899 issue. Letter No. 87

[169] There was a remark in Bulgakov's article "*K voprosy o kapitaltsti-*

scheskoi evolyutsii zemledeliya" rejecting the Marxist theory of *Zusammenbruch* (socialist revolution).

Somewhat earlier Bernstein had made a similar criticism in his *Die Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus und die Aufgaben der Sozialdemokratie*, 1899 (the English translation was entitled *Problems of Socialism*). Letter No. 87

[170] No such remark was made at the end of the second part of "Capitalism in Agriculture". It is possible that Lenin spoke of this in the first variant of his article; judging by Letters 98 and 99 he must have rewritten the article. Letter No. 87

[171] *Disciples*—followers of Marx and Engels; this term was used in the nineties as a legally-permitted name for the Marxists. Letter No. 88

[172] This refers to A. Bogdanov's *Kratky kurs ekonomicheskoi nauki*. Letter No. 89

[173] The articles referred to are "A Characterisation of Economic Romanticism. (Sismondi and Our Native Sismondists)" and "Reply to Mr. P. Nezhdanov", the latter having been published in the December (No. 12) 1899 issue of *Zhizn* (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, pp. 129-315, and Vol. 4, pp. 160-66). Letter No. 89

[174] Lenin refers to the following sentence from the first paragraph of his article "Reply to Mr. P. Nezhdanov": "As far as the other questions are concerned, those raised by Mr. P. Nezhdanov in respect of the market theory and, in particular, of P. B. Struve's views, I shall confine myself to a reference to my article in reply to Struve ('Once More on the Theory of Realisation'; the delay in its publication in *Nauchnoye Obozreniye* was due to circumstances over which the author had no control") (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 160). Letter No. 89

[175] Lenin mentioned Tugan-Baranovsky's article in a footnote to the last paragraph of his article "Uncritical Criticism" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 632) and in a letter to A. N. Potresov dated June 27, 1899 (*Collected Works*, Vol. 34, p. 39). Letter No. 90

[176] The review was that by G-d of A. Bogdanov's book *Osnovniye elementy istoricheskogo vzglyada na prirodu*. It is not known whether Lenin wrote anything in reply to the review. From his letter to Maxim Gorky, dated February 25, 1908 (*Collected Works*, Vol. 13, p. 448) we know that he had the book in Siberia.

It is known from a letter to A. N. Potresov, dated June 27, 1899, that Lenin at that time assumed that A. Bogdanov was the pseudonym of G. V. Plekhanov (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 34, p. 41). Letter No. 90

[177] Lenin's detailed analysis of the *Credo* appears to have been sent in a letter written in invisible ink.

Credo, or Creed, was the, name under which the programme or manifesto of the group of Economists, written by Y. D. Kuskova, became known. It was sent to Lenin in Shushenskoye by his sister Anna. Lenin's sister later recalled that she had received the Credo in St. Petersburg from A. M. Kalmykova and "in the next letter in invisible ink to my brother, one of those written in books and journals, added this composition, rewritten in invisible ink.... I gave the document the first name that came into my head and wrote 'I am sending you some "*Credo* of the young".'"

After having received the *Credo* Lenin wrote "A Protest by Russian Social-Democrats" which was discussed and adopted at a meeting of seventeen Marxists exiled to Minusinsk District (*Collected Works*, Vol. 4, pp. 167-82). Letter No. 92

[178] Lenin refers here to S. Bulgakov's article "*Zakon prichinnosti i svoboda chelovecheskikh deistvii*", and P. B. Struve's article "*Yeshcho o svobode i neobkhodimosti*", published in the May (No. 8) issue of *Novoye Slovo* for 1897. The two articles are a continuation of the polemics between Struve and Bulgakov over the philosophy of Kant, Stammler, Zimmel and others in the journal *Voprosy Filosofii i Psikhologii* for 1896 and 1897. Lenin spoke of Stammler in his "Uncritical Criticism" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 3, pp. 609-32) and also in a letter to A. N. Potresov dated June 27, 1899 (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 34, p. 40). Letter No. 93

[179] This was P. Skvortsov's article "*K voprosu o rynkakh* (*Po povodu zametki g. Petra Struve* '*K voprosu o rynkakh pri kapitalisticheskom proizvodstve*')" published in *Nauchnoye Obozreniye* No. 7 for 1899. Letter No. 93

[180] Bernstein's book (see Note 169). For Lenin's opinion of the book see Letter No. 98. Letter No. 96

[181] *The Hanover Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party* was held October 9-14, 1899. The report on the chief item on the agenda—"The Attack on the Basic Views and Tactics of the Party", was delivered by August Bebel. Lenin wrote that this speech against the opportunists would "long remain as a model of the defence of Marxist views and of the struggle for the truly socialist character of the workers' party" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 300). Although the congress opposed Bernstein's revisionist views, it did not give an extensive criticism of Bernsteinism. Letter No. 96

[182] *Vorwärts* (Forward)—a daily newspaper, central organ of the German Social-Democratic Party. Letter No. 96

[183] The two articles mentioned, in which Lenin criticised the views of the liberal Narodnik N. V. Levitsky, have not been found. They were apparently intended for *Nachalo*. "About a Certain Newspaper Article" is the only article known to have been written by Lenin in the Siberian period about N. Levitsky's "*O nekotorykh*

voprosakh, kasayushchikhsya narodnoi zhizni" (Certain Problems Affecting the Life of the People) published in *Russkiye Vedomosti* on August 30, 1897 (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, pp. 316-22).
Letter No. 97

[184] Owing to the loss of the manuscript, it is impossible to say what corrections to his second article on "Capitalism in Agriculture" Lenin is referring to. As can be seen by the next letter, he sent them long before the article was published. Letter No. 98

[185] *Sächsische Arbeiterzeitung* (Saxon Workers' Gazette)—a Social-Democratic daily published in Dresden from 1890. From May 1, 1908 it was published as *Dresdener Volkszeitung* (Dresden Peoples Gazette).

An article by G. V. Plekhanov "*Wofür sollen wir ihm dankbar sein? Offener Brief an Karl Kautsky*" (What Should We Thank Him For? An Open Letter to Karl Kautsky) appeared in issues 253, 254 and 255; in this article Plekhanov criticised Bernstein sharply. Bernstein polemised with Plekhanov over this article in a footnote to the last chapter of his *Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus*. Letter No. 98

[186] The journal referred to was *Le Mouvement Socialiste*, a social and political journal that first appeared in Paris in January 1899. It published a number of letters from Frederick Engels and articles by him. A number of the leaders of world Social-Democracy contributed to the journal, among them Wilhelm Liebknecht, Harry Quelch, Jean Jaurès, August Rebel and Rosa Luxemburg. It also carried articles by the opportunists and revisionists that dominated the Second International. *Le Mouvement Socialiste* went out of existence in June 1914. Letter No. 100

[187] This booklet was apparently used by Lenin's sister as the vehicle of a letter in invisible ink and Lenin's statement that the "booklet on the professional congress in Moscow was very interesting and instructive" obviously refers to the contents of the letter.
Letter No. 100

[188] *Severny Kuryer* (Northern Courier)—a social, political and literary daily that appeared in St. Petersburg in 1899 and 1900.
Letter No. 100

[189] That same day, January 19, 1900, Nadezhda Krupskaya applied to the Yeniseisk Gubernia Council for permission to travel to Ufa at her own expense. She did not receive it by the 29th and left Shushenskoye with Lenin. She received her travel permit in Minusinsk.

The Knipovich family were close friends of Krupskaya's.
Letter No. 101

[190] This refers to Lenin's article "Uncritical Criticism (Regarding

Mr. P. Skvortsov's Article 'Commodity Fetishism' in *Nauchnoye Obozreniye* No. 12, 1899)" (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 3, pp. 609-32). Letter No. 101

[191] S. N. Prokopovich's *The Working-Class Movement in the West. An Essay in Critical Investigation* (Vol. I, Germany, Belgium) was held up by the St. Petersburg Censorship Committee (May 22, 1899) and was later passed for publication by the head of the Central Press Board. It appeared at the end of January 1900. Lenin wrote a review of this book (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, pp. 183-92). Letter No. 101

[192] On March 10, 1900, Lenin applied to the Director of the Police Department for permission for Nadezhda Krupskaya to serve her term of police surveillance in Pskov instead of Ufa Gubernia. The request was refused. Letter No. 102

[193] Lenin's second article "Capitalism in Agriculture (Kautsky's Book and Mr. Bulgakov's Article)" was published in *Zhizn* No. 2 for 1900. It is probable that this is the issue referred to in the letter. Letter No. 102

[194] Lenin refers to P. B. Struve's article "*Osnovnaya antinomiya teorii trudovoi tsennosti*" (The Basic Antinomy of the Theory of Labour Value) published in *Zhizn* No. 2, for 1900. The inserted note against Struve mentioned in the letter is the footnote at the end of the article "Uncritical Criticism". (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 632). Letter No. 103

[195] This refers to Vera Zasulich's article "Dmitry Ivanovich Pisarev". It was published in *Nauchnoye Obozreniye* Nos. 3, 4, 6 and 7 for 1900 under the pseudonym of N. Karelin. Letter No. 103

[196] On April 20, 1900, Lenin applied to the Director of the Police Department for permission to live in Ufa for six weeks on account of the illness of his wife. The petition was refused. Letter No. 105

[197] Visitors were received on Thursdays at the Police Department. Lenin asked his mother to try to get permission in St. Petersburg for him to go to Ufa to Krupskaya. The permission was granted. Letter No. 107

[198] Lenin's journey to Podolsk was delayed. On May 20, 1900 he went secretly to St. Petersburg to meet local Social-Democrats and establish means of communication to be used after his leaving Russia. On May 21 he was arrested for illegal entry into the capital. He was released on May 31 and was dispatched to Podolsk in the company of a police official, arriving on June 1. Letter No. 108

[199] Lenin intended going to Siberia to see G. M. Krzhizhanovsky but went to Ufa instead (cf. Note 226). On June 10, 1900 he returned to Podolsk from Ufa and on July 16 went abroad to organise the all-Russia illegal newspaper *Iskra* (The Spark). Letter No. 109

[200] Lenin did not live in Paris in 1900, and if he went there at all it was only for a short time; for purposes of secrecy he sent letters to Russia through Paris. Letter No. 110

[201] This was said for the sake of secrecy. Early in September 1900 Lenin actually went to Nuremberg on his way to Munich for talks with the German Social-Democrat A. Braun about organisational and technical assistance in publishing *Iskra*. Letter No. 110

[202] Lenin was in Munich at this time. Paris is named for purposes of secrecy, as is the exhibition mentioned in the letter. Letter No. 111

[203] Lenin's sister Maria was arrested in the autumn of 1899 and banished to Nizhny Novgorod until the preliminary investigation was completed; she returned to Moscow at the end of December the same year. Letter No. 111

[204] This refers to the carriers through whom Lenin's books were despatched. Letter No. 112

[205] Lenin's brother Dmitry was at this time under police surveillance in Podolsk Moscow Gubernia; he was later allowed to enter Yuriev University, from which he graduated in 1901. Letter No. 113

[206] Lenin used F. Modráček's address in Prague for the despatch of letters to and from Russia. Letter No. 114

[207] This refers to S. I. Mickiewicz, who was a that time in exile in Yakutia in connection with the case of the Moscow organisation of the R.S.D.L.P. His correspondence with Lenin has been lost. Letter No. 117

[208] In the latter half of December 1900, Lenin went to Leipzig, where the first issue of *Iskra* was being printed, to do some final editing before the paper appeared. Vienna is mentioned in the letter for reasons of secrecy. Letter No. 118

[209] Lenin refers to the *Manifesto of the Party of Socialist-Revolutionaries* that G. B. Krasin sent him in an album of photographs. The manifesto was reviewed by G. Plekhanov in an article "New Wine in Old Bottles", published in *Iskra* No. 5. Letter No. 120

[210] It is not known what manuscripts are meant. For "Vienna gifts" see Note 209. Letter No. 122

[211] Krupskaya stayed in Moscow for a few days on her way from Ufa to Germany. Letter No. 122

[212] *Promyshlenny Mir* (Industrial World)—a weekly dealing with finance, economics, commerce, industry and technology, published in St. Petersburg from November 1899 to 1905. Letter No. 124

[213] This probably refers to Lenin's reviews of Kautsky's book *Bernstein and the Social-Democratic Programme. A Counter-critique* and Prokopovich's book *The Working-Class Movement in the West*, written at the end of 1899 and first published in 1928 in *Lenin Miscellany VII* (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, pp. 193-203 and 183-92). Letter No. 124

[214] Lenin went to Prague and Vienna to organise Krupskaya's journey abroad. Letter No. 125

[215] Lenin's sister Maria and his brother-in-law, Mark Yelizarov, had been arrested on the night of February 28, 1901, in connection with the case of the Moscow organisation of the R.S.D.L.P. Letter No. 127

[216] This letter was given to Maria Ulyanova in prison and it bears the stamp of the Deputy Prosecutor of the Moscow Department of Justice. Letter No. 128

[217] This refers to V. A. Levitsky, who was at that time public health officer in Podolsk Uyezd of Moscow Gubernia. Lenin made the acquaintance of Levitsky at the summer cottage of his relatives before going abroad; he asked Levitsky to write for *Iskra*, and one article by him, *Probuzhdeniye kirpichnikov*, was printed in *Iskra* No. 1. Letter No. 130

[218] The *Siberian friends* were G. M. Krzhizhanovsky, V. V. Starkov, M. A. Silvin and others who were in exile at the same time as Lenin. Letter No. 130

[219] On release from prison, Mark Yelizarov intended going to Syzran, where his brother, P. T. Yelizarov, lived. Letter No. 132

[220] At that time Mark Yelizarov was a student of the Moscow Engineering Institute of the Ministry of Railways. Letter No. 132

[221] The visit was not permitted on the ground that Dmitry Ulyanov had shortly before been arraigned on a political charge. Letter No. 133

[222] This refers to M. V. Zvorykina, a school friend of Maria Ulyanova's. She had at one time stayed with Lenin's mother in Podolsk. Letter No. 133

[223] Lenin's mother lived in Samara while her daughter Maria spent her term of exile there. Letter No. 136

[224] Lenin refers here to books belonging to him that had been sent from Siberia to his mother's address in Moscow. Some of these books are now at the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.

The new address mentioned in the letter was necessary because the centre for publishing Iskra was transferred from Munich to London; Lenin left on April 12, 1902 (see next letter).
Letter No. 137

[225] In the summer of 1902, Lenin's mother went abroad to visit her son. From the end of June to July 25, Lenin lived with his mother and his elder sister, Anna, in Loguivy (north coast of France).
Letter No. 139

[226] Lenin recalls his trip to Ufa with his mother and his elder sister in the summer of 1900. From Nizhny Novgorod they travelled by steamer along the rivers Volga, Kama and Belaya, to visit Krupskaya who was finishing her term of exile in Ufa.
Letter No. 140

[227] This refers to photographs of Lenin's elder brother, Alexander Ulyanov, that his sister Anna sent him; she was afraid to carry them across the frontier because of the possibility of being arrested.
Letter No. 141

[228] Lenin's brother Dmitry was arrested in August 1902 at Khadzhibei Lagoon near Odessa where he was working as a doctor; he was accused of "distributing proclamations calling on the peasants to join the workers' revolutionary movement". He was released three weeks later. Letter No. 143

[229] The symposium contained articles by S. N. Bulgakov, Prince Y. N. Trubetskoi, N. A. Berdyayev, S. L. Frank, Prince S. N. Trubetskoi, S. F. Oldenburg and others. Letter No. 144

[230] A persistent struggle was going on in Germany in 1902 around the draft of a tariff reform proposed by the government. The German Social-Democrats, headed by August Bebel, were fighting against higher bread prices. Letter No. 145

[231] Lenin's sister Anna went to Port Arthur with her husband, Mark Yelizarov, who was at that time employed on the railway in the Far East. Letter No. 146

[232] Lenin wrote about Germany for purposes of secrecy. In February 1903 he went to Paris to lecture at the Russian Social Sciences Higher School there; between February 23 and 26 he delivered four lectures on "Marxist Views on the Agrarian Problem in

Europe and in Russia". (In the Central Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, C.C., C.P.S.U., there are two variants of a plan of these lectures in the form of notes.) Early in March Lenin spoke at a meeting of Russian political émigrés in Paris on the agrarian programme of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Social-Democrats. He returned to London on March 9.
Letter No. 147

[233] On the night of January 1, 1904, Lenin's sisters Anna and Maria, his brother Dmitry and the latter's wife were arrested in connection with a case against the Central Committee and the Kiev Committee of the Party. Letter No. 150

[234] Krupskaya recalls the following in connection with this holiday.
"At the end of June 1904, Vladimir Ilyich and I took our rucksacks and set off for a month in the mountains, following our noses. We spent a week or so in Lausanne to muster a little strength, and then set out for somewhere beyond Montreux; we found our way through the wildest forests to a place where some loggers told us how to reach the road and where to spend the night. Through Aigle we descended into the valley of the Rhone, went to Bex-les-Bains to an old school and college friend of mine, and then wandered along the Rhone for a long time—about 70 versts; this was the most tiring part of the journey. In the end we crossed the Gemmi Pass into Oberland, reached the foot of the Jungfrau, and then, with our legs aching and completely worn out, we stayed at Iseltwald on the Brienzersee for about a week and from there again took to the road through Interlaken and Zimmental back to the Geneva area. The winter of 1903-04 had been a particularly difficult one, our nerves were in a bad state and we wanted to get away from people and forget for the time being all business and alarms. The mountains helped us. The changing impressions, the mountain air, solitude, healthy tiredness and healthy sleep were a real cure for Vladimir Ilyich. His strength and vivacity and high spirits returned to him. In August we lived on Lac de Bret, where Vladimir Ilyich and Bogdanov evolved a plan for the further struggle against the Mensheviks." Letter No. 151

[235] This refers to Hobson's *Imperialism*, published in 1902. There is no printed edition of Lenin's translation of the book in existence and the manuscript of the translation has been lost.
Letter No. 154

[236] On his return from the Fifth (London) Party Congress Lenin rested for several weeks at N. M. Knipovich's country house near the Stjernsund Lighthouse (now the Ozerki Housing Development, Vyborg District, Leningrad Region). Letter No. 155

[237] Lenin refers to his article "Against Boycott. Notes of a Social-Democratic Publicist" (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 13, pp. 15-49).
Letter No. 156

[238] After the Seventh International Congress in Stuttgart, in which he took part, Lenin stayed at Vaza Cottage at Kuokkala (now Repine, Sestroretsk District, Leningrad), where he had formerly lived when in hiding from the tsarist police. Letter No. 157

[239] At that time Lenin's brother Dmitry was employed as the village doctor at Lipitino, Serpukhov Uyezd, Moscow Gubernia. Letter No. 157

[240] *Obrazovaniye* (Education)—a monthly literary, popular scientific, social and political journal published legally in St. Petersburg from 1892 to 1909. Articles by Social-Democrats were published in the journal between 1902 and 1908. Letter No. 158

[241] After the defeat of the First Russian Revolution, Lenin was hunted by the tsarist police and had to leave Kuokkala in November 1907 and move to Oggelby (near Helsingfors). In accordance with the decision of the Bolshevik centre to transfer the publication of the newspaper *Proletary* to Geneva, Lenin left Oggelby. He stayed in Stockholm for a few days and arrived in Geneva on January 7, 1908. This was his second period of exile abroad, which lasted until April 1917. Letter No. 158

[242] *Tovarishch* (Comrade)—a bourgeois daily published in St. Petersburg from March 15 (28), 1906 to December 30, 1907 (January 12, 1908), actually as the organ of the Left Cadets. *Nash Vek* (Our Age) was published in January 1908 in place of *Tovarishch*. Letter No. 158

[243] The article referred to is Lenin's "The Agrarian Question in Russia Towards the Close of the Nineteenth Century", which he wrote for the Granat Brothers Encyclopaedic Dictionary. Because of the censorship the article could not be published at that time. It first appeared in 1918 in pamphlet form (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 15, pp. 69-147). Letter No. 158

[244] *Rech* (Speech)—organ of the Constitutional-Democratic (Cadet) Party published daily in St. Petersburg. Lenin probably referred to *Rech* No. 12 of January 15 (28), 1908, which carried an article entitled "Resolution of the Baku Social-Democrats Against Expropriation and Terror". Letter No. 160

[245] Lenin nevertheless wrote an article for the symposium *Karl Marx (1818-1883)*, entitled "Marxism and Revisionism" (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 15, pp. 29-39). Letter No. 160

[246] The club referred to is the *Société de lecture* (Reading Society) in Geneva; to work in the reading-room it was necessary to be a member of it and pay a certain fee. Lenin had worked there in 1904-05, before he left for Russia. Letter No. 160

[247] *Zerno* (Grain or The Seed) was a publishing house headed by M. S. Kedrov; in 1907 it launched the publication of a collection of Lenin's works under the general title of *Twelve Years*. It was planned as a three-volume edition but only the first volume and Part I of the second appeared. Volume I appeared in November 1907 (the date on the cover was 1908) and was confiscated soon after its appearance, although a large part of this first printing was saved and was distributed illegally.

Zerno published a symposium on the twenty-fifth anniversary of Marx's death and the *Kalendar dlya vsekh* (Calendar for All) for 1908, which carried Lenin's article "The International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart" (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 13, pp. 82-93). Letter No. 160

[248] This book is quoted in Lenin's "The Agrarian Question and the 'Critics of Marx'" (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 179). Letter No. 161

[249] The manuscript referred to was that of Lenin's "The Agrarian Programme of Social-Democracy in the First Russian Revolution, 1905-1907" written in November and December 1907 (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 13, pp. 217-431). It was to have been included in the second part of Volume 2 of the Lenin collection *Twelve Years* but was confiscated by the police and destroyed before leaving the printers'. Only one copy was saved and several of the end pages of this were missing. The book was published in part in the newspaper *Proletary* No. 33 of July 23 (August 5), 1908. It was first published in full in 1917. Letter No. 162

[250] The nature of the disagreement between V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich and Lindov (G. D. Leiteisen) has not been established. Letter No. 162

[251] This apparently concerns the fees for the second, enlarged edition of *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* issued in 1908 by Pallada Publishers in St. Petersburg. Letter No. 163

[252] Lenin was in Leipzig in early January 1908, while on his way from Sweden to Geneva. Letter No. 163

[253] Some time towards the end of April (after the 20th) Lenin visited Maxim Gorky in Capri (Italy) and spent several days there. Letter No. 164

[254] Lenin worked on his *Materialism and Empirio-criticism* in the British Museum (London) in May 1908. Letter No. 165

[255] This refers to Lenin's *The Agrarian Programme of Social-Democracy in the First Russian Revolution, 1905-1907*. It is possible that Lenin wished to show it to those attending the Plenary Meeting of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P., which was to be held in Geneva in

August 1908. It is not known whether Lenin's request was fulfilled. Letter No. 165

[256] *Diablerets*—a group of mountains in the western part of the Bernese Alps at the juncture of the Cantons of Berne, Vallais and Vaud; the highest point is 10,000 feet above sea level. Letter No. 167

[257] These words are from Alexander Pushkin's *The Hero*. Letter No. 168

[258] In October 1908 Lenin went to Brussels to attend a meeting of the International Socialist Bureau; the trip to Italy did not take place. Letter No. 169

[259] This refers to the publication of *Materialism and Empirio-criticism* which Lenin expected the Granat Brothers Publishing House to handle. Letter No. 170

[260] In the first edition of Lenin's *Materialism and Empirio-criticism. Critical Comments on a Reactionary Philosophy* the word "fideism" was used instead of *popovshchina*, a derogatory Russian term for "clericalism", although "popovshchina" remained unchanged in a number of places. Lenin also suggested changing the word to "Shamanism"; his sister Anna, in a letter dated January 27, 1909, replied by saying, "'Shamanism' has come too late. Anyway, is it any better?" The explanatory note was given in the Preface to the first and subsequent editions (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 14, p. 19). Letter No. 171

[261] This refers to V. A. Levitsky, a close acquaintance of the Ulyanov family during their stay in Podolsk; in 1900 Lenin left Podolsk for Ufa and not Krasnoyarsk, as the letter states. Letter No. 172

[262] It was difficult for V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich to publish the book at the publishing firm *Zhizn i Znaniye* (Life and Knowledge) he organised in 1907 because that firm had not had time to consolidate its position. Letter No. 173

[263] The manuscript of this "separate sheet" has been lost. The footnote concerned Erich Becher's *Philosophische Voraussetzungen der exakten Naturwissenschaften*. Lpz., 1907, which, as Lenin said in the note, he read only after he had finished writing the book (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 14, p. 290). Letter No. 173

[264] Lenin and his family had moved from Geneva to Paris because the newspaper *Proletary* was published there. Letter No. 174

[265] Lenin's book was accepted by the private firm of L. Krumbügel (*Zveno* Publishers). The contract was drawn up in the name of Lenin's sister, Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova, and signed by her.

The contract was for 3,000 copies at 100 rubles per printer's signature, each signature being 40,000 letters, and 50 copies for the author (see her letter to the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 2-3 for 1930). Letter No. 174

[266] All the misprints here listed were corrected before the book was published. Letter No. 177

[267] The telegram has been lost. It inquired about the health of Lenin's mother, who was ill at the time. Letter No. 178

[268] The pages mentioned were missing in the galley proofs but were later received by Lenin when he read the page proofs (see Letter No. 180). Letter No. 179

[269] This refers to Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova's reply to Lenin's telegram inquiring after his mother's health.
Un peu mieux—a little better. Letter No. 179

[270] *Mardi gras*—Shrove Tuesday, a day of carnival in France. Letter No. 180

[271] Since the manuscript has been lost it is impossible to indicate exactly which place in the book this refers to. Apparently it refers to Section 1 of Chapter Two, "The 'Thing-in-Itself' or V. Chernov Refutes Frederick Engels"; here Lenin speaks of the writings of Bogdanov, Valentinov, Bazarov, Chernov and other Machists against the basic materialist tenet recognising the objective existence, independent of man's consciousness, of matter—the "thing-in-itself" (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 14, p. 98). Letter No. 183

[272] The strike of French post and telegraph workers lasted from March 15 to March 23, 1909. Letter No. 184

[273] This misprint was not given in the list of errata nor was it corrected in the text of the first edition of *Materialism and Empirio-criticism*. It was first corrected in the Third Edition (Russian) of the *Collected Works* (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 14, p. 300). Letter No. 187

[274] Lenin hurried the publication of *Materialism and Empirio-criticism* because of the enlarged conference of the *Proletary* editorial board (this was actually the Bolshevik centre) at which a decisive battle against Bogdanov and his followers was to be fought. Letter No. 189

[275] Lenin's sister Maria was preparing to take the entrance examination to the Sorbonne language courses in order to obtain the diploma of a teacher of French. Letter No. 190

[276] Lenin's *Materialism and Empirio-criticism. Critical Comments on a Reactionary Philosophy* appeared between May 12 and 17 (N.S.), 1909;

it was published in Moscow by L. Krumbügel's firm *Zveno*.
Letter No. 190

[277] Lenin was referring to the inaccurate translation of the title of William James's *Pragmatism. A New Name for Some Old Ways of Thinking* that he mentions in *Materialism and Empirio-criticism* (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 14, p. 342). Letter No. 191

[278] Lenin received royalties for his *Materialism and Empirio-criticism* from Krumbügel in full (see his sister Anna's letter to the editor of *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* published in No. 2-3 of that journal for 1930). Letter No. 191

[279] Lenin refers here to the coming conference of the extended *Proletary* editorial board; it was called on Lenin's initiative and took place in Paris from the 21st to the 30th of June (N.S.), 1909. The conference was attended by nine members of the Bolshevik centre—the highest body of the Bolshevik group, elected by the Bolshevik delegates to the 5th (London) Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., and also representatives of the St. Petersburg, Moscow Regional and Urals organisations. The conference proceeded under Lenin's guidance and his speeches on all the main points on the agenda shaped the character of the conference. The theses put forward by Lenin formed the basis of the decisions adopted by the conference.

The conference roundly condemned otzovism and ultimatumism as harmful and dangerous trends in the working-class movement. A. Bogdanov, leader and inspirer of the otzovists, ultimatumists and God-builders, was expelled from the Bolshevik group.
Letter No. 191

[280] Lenin spent late July and August on holiday with his family—his wife (N. K. Krupskaya), her mother (Y. V. Krupskaya) and his sister (M. I. Ulyanova)—in the village of Bombon (Department de Seine-et-Marne) near Paris. Letter No. 191

[281] This may refer to the issue of the newspaper *Rossiya* containing reports of the discussion of a land distribution Bill in the Duma in October 1909.

Rossiya (Russia)—a reactionary daily, published in St. Petersburg from November 1905 to April 1914. In 1909 it became the newspaper of the Ministry of the Interior. Letter No. 196

[282] Lenin refers to I. I. Skvortsov-Stepanov, about whose position at this period he afterwards wrote in a letter to Maxim Gorky (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, pp. 74-75). Two letters from Lenin to Skvortsov-Stepanov written in 1909 have been preserved (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 16, pp. 117-22, and Vol. 34, pp. 407-10).
Letter No. 196

[283] Lenin went to Brussels to attend the Eleventh Session of the International Socialist Bureau (ISB). On November 7, 1909 he spoke at a meeting of the session on the split in the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Holland and voted in favour of admitting to the International the Dutch Marxists (*Tribune* supporters) who represented the Left wing of the working-class movement in Holland. On November 8 Lenin attended a meeting of the Inter-parliamentary Committee of the ISB after which he returned to Paris. Letter No. 196

[284] On November 45, 1909, the newspaper *Utro Rossii* (Morning of Russia), organ of the Moscow industrialists published by P. P. Ryabushinsky, printed a libellous story about "M. Gorky's Expulsion from the S. D. Party". The "interview" of which Lenin writes was published on November 17 under the heading "The Excommunication of Maxim Gorky". This libellous account was taken up by *Rech* and other bourgeois papers, Russian and foreign. In reply to the inventions about Gorky's expulsion that were being spread by bourgeois newspapers Lenin wrote his article "The Bourgeois Press Fable About the Expulsion of Gorky" (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 16, p. 106). Letter No. 197

[285] *L'Éclair* (Lightning)—a Paris newspaper published from 1888 to 1939.

Berliner Tageblatt (*Berliner Tageblatt und Handelszeitung*—Berlin Daily and Commercial Gazette)—published from 1871 to 1939. Letter No. 197

[286] Lenin's sister Anna, her husband Mark Yelizarov, and Lenin's mother were living at the village of Sablino near a railway station of the same name, not far from St. Petersburg. Lenin visited his relatives there in 1905 and 1906. A room was allotted to him in the cottage and he was able to work and rest there. Letter No. 197

[287] The Twelfth Congress of Russian Naturalists and Physicians was held in Moscow from December 28, 1909 to January 6, 1910; a sub-section of statisticians took part. Letter No. 199

[288] This refers to Stolypin's decree of November 9 (22), 1909 "Supplement to Certain Provisions of the Operative Law on Peasant Landownership and Land Tenure", which granted peasants the right to leave the communes and set up farmsteads. (For further details of Stolypin's agrarian policy see *Collected Works*, Vol. 13, pp. 217-431.) Letter No. 199

[289] The manuscript of Lenin's note of request to the statisticians has been lost. Copies of it were made and distributed among statisticians; one copy was seized during a search at the house of Lenin's sister Maria in 1909. The text of the copy was preserved in the records of the Department of Police. Letter No. 199

[290] *Musée Grévin*—a waxworks containing the, very lifelike and authentically dressed effigies of historical personages. Letter No. 200

[291] *Juvisy*—a small town near Paris, where there was an aerodrome; Lenin, who was greatly interested in aviation, went there to watch the aeroplanes in flight. Letter No. 201

[292] The book referred to was *Obzor deyatelnosti uyezdnykh zemleustroitelnykh komissii* (*1907-1908*). There was no other book. Letter No. 201

[293] Lenin meant that he would be attending the Plenary Meeting of the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P, held January 2-23 (January 15-February 5), 1910, in Paris; it was known as the "Unity Plenum". Letter No. 202

[294] In the 'winter of 1909-10 Lenin's brother Dmitry broke his leg and dislocated his collarbone (see Letter No. 205). Letter No. 203

[295] This was a chess problem by Lenin's brother published in the first volume of the literary and popular-science supplements to the magazine *Niva* for 1909, p. 533. Letter No. 205

[296] The chessmen mentioned here were turned on a lathe by Lenin's father, Ilya Ulyanov. Lenin's mother sent him the chessmen in memory of his father. When Lenin moved from Galicia to Switzerland at the beginning of the First World War the set was lost. Letter No. 206

[297] Lenin refers to the internal Party struggle, which grew sharper after the January ("Unity") Plenum of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. in 1910. Lenin wrote to Maxim Gorky about this on April 11, 1910 (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 34, pp. 419-22). Letter No. 209

[298] The picture postcard of Meudon Forest was sent to Lenin's mother who at that time was staying with Lenin's brother Dmitry, a rural doctor in the village of Lipitino, near Mikhnevo Station, Serpukhov Uyezd, Moscow Gubernia. Letter No. 210

[299] In her memoirs, Nadezhda Krupskaya wrote: "Meudon is a small town some nine kilometres from Paris. Thousands of Parisians go there on holidays in summer to spend their time in the open air. We often went there on weekdays, to cheer ourselves up and to race through the marvellous woods of Meudon on our bicycles." Letter No. 210

[300] This refers to the Eighth Congress of the Second International held in Copenhagen August 28-September 3; Lenin took an active part in it. Letter No. 214

[301] Lenin was trying to find a publisher for one of his works on the agrarian question—either "The Agrarian Programme of Social-Democracy in the First Russian Revolution, 1905-1907" or "The Agrarian Question in Russia Towards the Close of the Nineteenth Century" (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 13, pp. 217-431, and Vol. 15, pp. 69-147). Letter No. 215

[302] It is not known which article Lenin refers to here. No article by him was published in *Sovremenny Mir* in that period. We have, however, the evidence of Bonch-Bruyevich that an article of Lenin's was discussed by the editors (see Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova's preface to Lenin's "Letters to Relatives (1910-1916)" in the journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya* No. 4 for 1930).

Sovremenny Mir (Contemporary World)—a literary, scientific and political monthly published in St. Petersburg from October 1906 to 1918. Letter No. 215

[303] This apparently refers to talks on the publication of Lenin's agrarian articles by G. F. Lvovich, who in 1905-06 published Lenin's translation of Karl Kautsky's *Bernstein und das sozialdemokratische Programm. Eine Antikritik* (Bernstein and the Social-Democratic Programme. A Counter-critique). Lenin's translation of part of the book was published under the title of *K. Kautsky. Sbornik statei* (Collection of Articles). The second edition stated that it was "Translated by Lenin". Letter No. 215

[304] *Zvezda* (Star)—a Bolshevik legal newspaper published in St. Petersburg from December 16 (29), 1910 to April 22 (May 5), 1912. The newspaper *Nevskaya Zvezda* was a direct continuation of *Zvezda* and was launched because of the frequent confiscation of the latter. These newspapers published about 50 of Lenin's articles. *Zvezda* enjoyed great prestige among factory and other workers in Russia; it prepared the way for *Pravda*, the Bolshevik mass legal newspaper.

Mysl (Thought)—a legal Bolshevik monthly dealing with philosophical, economic and social problems; it was published in Moscow from December 1910 to April 1911—five issues in all. It was founded on Lenin's initiative to combat the liquidators' legal publications and to train advanced workers and intellectuals in the spirit of Marxism. The first four issues of the journal carried six articles by Lenin. Letter No. 215

[305] This refers to the Party "salary" which was paid to Lenin at times when he had no other means of subsistence. Letter No. 216

[306] The meeting of the International Socialist Bureau was held on September 23-24, 1911 in Zürich. Lenin spoke in defence of Rosa Luxemburg against the opportunists among the German Social-Democrats. Letter No. 220

[307] Lenin delivered a lecture on "Stolypin and the Revolution" in a number of Swiss towns—in Zürich on September 26, in Berne on September 28 and in Geneva on October 2. Letter No. 220

[308] After all the attempts of the liquidators, Trotskyites and conciliators to prevent the Prague Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. had been defeated, they launched a savage campaign against the decisions of the conference in order to discredit them.

The Sixth (*Prague*) *All-Russia Conference of the R.S.D.L.P.* was convened by the Bolsheviks; it was held from January 18 to January 30, 1912; it expelled the Menshevik liquidators from the Party and strengthened the Party as a nation-wide organisation; the conference laid down the political line and tactics of the Party in the new period of revolutionary upsurge, and elected the Central Committee. A Russian Bureau of the C.C. was set up to guide the work in Russia. Letter No. 222

[309] Lenin did not move at that time. On June 23, 1912 he and his family moved from Paris to Krakow, so that Lenin could maintain closer contact with Russia and give better guidance to the work of the Bolshevik Duma group and the newspaper *Pravda*. Letter No. 223

[310] It has not been established where Lenin went. According to G. M. Vyazmensky, Director of the Archives of Russian Social-Democracy in Berlin, Lenin visited the archives in summer of 1912 and saw there the *Izvestia TsK R.S.D.R.P.* (Bulletin of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P.) for 1907, which he had been looking for over a long period. It is possible that the journey of which Lenin speaks was to Berlin. Letter No. 224

[311] On May 7, 1912 Lenin's sisters Maria and Anna were arrested in Saratov in connection with the case of the Saratov R.S.D.L.P.(B.). Letter No. 224

[312] The newspaper *Rech* for May 17 (30), 1912 carried the following telegram: "Saratov, May 16. The houses of 18 railway employees were searched." An earlier issue, of May 10 (23), had stated: "Saratov, May 9. The gendarmerie searched 16 houses and made as many arrests, mainly among workers." Letter No. 225

[313] Lenin's sister Maria was to be exiled to Astrakhan Gubernia in connection with the Saratov R.S.D.L.P.(B.) case. At the request of her relatives the place of exile was changed to Vologda Gubernia. Letter No. 227

[314] *Gleichheit* (Equality)—a Social-Democratic fortnightly, organ of the women workers' movement in Germany and later of the international women's movement; it was published in Stuttgart from 1890 to 1925; from 1892 to 1917 it was edited by Clara Zetkin. Letter No. 231

[315] *Pravda* (The Truth)—the legal Bolshevik daily that was launched in St. Petersburg on April 22 (May 5), 1912.

Pravda was under Lenin's ideological guidance; he wrote for it almost daily and sent instructions to the editors. Some 270 articles by Lenin were published in *Pravda*; Gorky, too, published his stories in *Pravda*.

The newspaper was suppressed by the tsarist authorities eight times but continued to appear under changed names—*Rabochaya Pravda*, *Severnaya Pravda*, *Pravda Truda*, *Za Pravdu*, *Proletarskaya Pravda*, *Put Pravdy*, *Rabochy*, *Trudovaya Pravda* (Workers' Truth, Northern Truth, Truth of Labour, For Truth, Proletarian Truth, The Path of Truth, The Worker, Labour Truth). Under these difficult conditions the Bolsheviks succeeded in publishing 636 issues of *Pravda* in a little over two years. On July 8 (21), 1914, the newspaper was finally suppressed and did not re-appear until the February bourgeois-democratic revolution, in 1917.

Beginning from March 5 (18), 1917, *Pravda* was published as the organ of the Central Committee and the Petrograd Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. On April 5 (18), on his return from abroad, Lenin joined the editorial board and became its leading figure. From July to October 1917 Pravda was constantly persecuted by the counter-revolutionary bourgeois Provisional Government, and frequently changed its name: *Listok Pravdy*, *Proletary*, *Rabochy*, *Rabochy Put* (The *Pravda* Sheet, The Proletarian, The Worker, The Workers' Path). On October 27 (November 9), following the October Revolution, the Central Organ of the Party again appeared under its old name of *Pravda*. Letter No. 233

[316] It was the general rule to reduce the term of exile by one-third in the event of an amnesty, but only for those exiles who received a favourable report from the local administration. Most of the Vologda exiles were amnestied. Letter No. 234

[317] Lenin's trip was apparently undertaken in connection with the lecture on "The Social Upswing in Russia and the Tasks of Social-Democracy", which he delivered on April 26, 1913 in Leipzig. Letter No. 236

[318] The letter contained the medical advice given to Lenin by his brother for the treatment of Nadezhda Krupskaya. Lenin's letter has been lost but its contents are known from a letter written by his mother to her daughter Maria on April 30, 1913. "I have just received a letter from Volodya in which he also wrote to Mitya to inform him that in spite of electric treatment for three weeks, Nadya's eyes, neck and heart are no better.... Acquaintances advise him to take her to Kocher in Berne, a first-class specialist on such illnesses—it can be cured, they say, but it is dangerous to neglect it, the illness is a serious one and later it will become hopeless.... Volodya is in great difficulty—should they abandon the cottage they have now moved to, which is on a mountain, and there is the excellent mountain air she was told was good for

her, or take her to Kocher, who is a surgeon and will probably want to operate; many people say that operations in such cases are difficult and the outcome is doubtful.... So Volodya asks Mitya's advice.... Mitya was not here when the letter arrived, he came two days later, read the letter, got out his medical books copied out something from them, consulted someone here and only yesterday sent an answer by registered post." Letter No. 236

[319] *Prosveshcheniye* (Enlightenment)—a Bolshevik legal journal dealing with questions of theory published monthly in St. Petersburg from December 1911 to June 1914. Its circulation reached 5,000 Copies.

The journal was founded on Lenin's initiative in place of the Bolshevik, journal *Mysl*, formerly published in Moscow and suppressed by the authorities.

On the eve of the First World War *Prosveshcheniye* was prohibited by the tsarist government. In the autumn of 1917 the journal was restarted, but only one issue (a double number) appeared; it contained two articles by Lenin, "Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?" and "The Revision of the Party Programme". Letter No. 237

[320] The anniversary issue of *Pravda* (No. 92) appeared on April 23 (May 6), 1913. The issue carried two articles by Lenin, "The *Pravda* Anniversary. Workers Support the Workers' Paper" and "A Few Words on Results and Facts". Letter No. 237

[321] The elections to the Executive of the St. Petersburg Metalworkers' Union took place on April 21 (May 4), 1913. Some 800 persons attended the meeting and over 400 were unable to get into the overcrowded hail. The Bolsheviks put forward a list of candidates for election that had been published in *Pravda* No. 91 and distributed among those present at the meeting. Despite the insistence on the part of the liquidators to elect candidates irrespective of political allegiance, the majority of those present voted for the *Pravda* list; 10 out of 14 members of the Executive were elected from the Bolshevik list. The newly elected Executive sent a telegram to Lenin greeting him as "the true leader of the working class". Letter No. 237

[322] The paper referred to is *Pravda*, which the tsarist government suppressed on July 5, 1913, beginning from issue No. 151. On July 13 the paper re-appeared under a new name—*Rabochaya Pravda*. Letter No. 242

[323] In September 1913, four volumes of the Marx-Engels correspondence were published in German. Lenin planned a big work about this correspondence, the beginning of which was his article "The Marx-Engels Correspondence" (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, pp. 552-58).

In a thick notebook containing 76 pages, now in the Central

Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., Lenin made notes on about 300 letters and made extracts from 15 that are of theoretical importance; he also compiled a short thematic index to his notes. The four volumes on which Lenin worked have been preserved; they have passages underlined or encircled and also marked N.B. in the margins; the remarks are made in pencil in four different colours. This material was published in Moscow as a separate edition in 1959 under the title of *Konspekt* "*Perepiski K. Marksa i F. Engelsa*" (Conspectus of the Marx-Engels Correspondence).

It had been intended to publish Lenin's essay in the journal *Prosveshcheniye* in 1914 (as reported in *Proletarskaya Pravda* on December 14, 1913) but it remained unfinished and was first published in *Pravda* on November 28, 1920 on the occasion of the centenary of Engels's birth. Letter No. 243

[324] In mid-January 1914, Lenin left Krakow for Paris where he spoke at a meeting of Bolsheviks on the intention of the International Socialist Bureau to interfere in the affairs of the R.S.D.L.P., then at two memorial meetings dedicated to the events of January 9, 1905; lie also delivered a lecture on the "Question of Nationalities" in the Grand Hall of the Geographical Society. From Paris Lenin went to Brussels to attend the Fourth Congress of the Social-Democrats of the Latvian Area. He delivered there a report on behalf of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. in which he criticised the opportunist position of the Latvian Social-Democrats on questions of the struggle against the liquidators and took a firm stand against the conciliatory tendencies at the congress. He delivered a lecture to the delegates on the question of nationalities in which he outlined the theory and tactics of the Bolsheviks in this field. After the congress Lenin lectured on the same issue at Liège and Leipzig, returning to Krakow on February 6, 1914. Letter No. 246

[325] This article, "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination", was written between February and May 1914 and printed in the April, May and June issues of *Prosveshcheniye* (Nos. 4, 5 and 6) (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, pp. 393-454). Letter No. 247

[326] *Novaya Rabochaya Gazeta*, *Nasha Rabochaya Gazeta*, *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta* (New Workers' Gazette, Our Workers' Gazette, Northern Workers' Gazette) was the legal newspaper of the Menshevik liquidators published in St. Petersburg in 1913 and 1914. Letter No. 247

[327] The book *August Bebel. His Life and Work. 1840-1913* was written by V. Levitsky (V. O. Zederbaum) and reviewed in the journal *Prosveshcheniye* No. 1 for 1914 by V. Yan-sky (S. S. Danilov). Letter No. 247

[328] This refers to the journal *Rabotnitsa* (The Working Woman)

published legally in St. Petersburg from February 23 to June 28, 1914. The first, issue appeared on International Women's Day, February 23 (March 8). Seven issues appeared. Active collaborators were Nadezhda Krupskaya, Inessa Armand, Lyudmila Stal, Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova and others.

Further information about the publication of the journal is to be found in Krupskaya's letter (No. 48) to Lenin's sister Anna. Letter No. 247

[329] This refers to Lenin's lecture on the question of nationalities delivered in the Grand Hall of the Paris Geographical Society on January 23, 1914. Letter No. 248

[330] *The Beilis affair*—the trial of the Jew Beilis organised by the tsarist authorities in Kiev in 1913 for purposes of provocation; Beilis was falsely accused of the ritual murder of the Christian boy Yushchinsky (the boy was actually killed by the Black Hundreds). By staging this trial the tsarist authorities hoped to arouse anti-Semitic feelings and by means of anti-Jewish pogroms divert the masses from the revolutionary movement that was developing in the country. The trial aroused tremendous social unrest; in many towns there were workers' protest demonstrations. Beilis was acquitted by the court. Letter No. 250

[331] Lenin and Krupskaya attended the celebrations in honour of the centenary of Shevchenko's birth. Letter No. 250

[332] In *Prosveshcheniye* No. 11 (1913) there was a short article by Mikhail Sadko on "Who Is Being Exiled?" There were no other articles on the subject in the journal. Letter No. 252

[333] On August 7, 1914 Lenin's apartment in Poronin was searched by the Austrian authorities on receipt of false information accusing him of espionage. Lenin was ordered to report to the gendarmerie in the district town of Novy Targ, where he was arrested and imprisoned next day.

Polish Social-Democrats and members of the Austrian Parliament came to Lenin's defence and he was released on August 19. He obtained permission to leave Austria for neutral Switzerland, arriving there on September 5, 1914. Letter No. 253

[334] This refers to Lenin's article "Karl Marx (A Brief Biographical Sketch with an Exposition of Marxism)", written between July and November 1914 for Granat's Encyclopaedic Dictionary. An abridged version of the article, signed V. Ilyin, was published in 1915 in Volume 28 of the dictionary. It was first published in full in 1925 in *Marx*, *Engels*, *Marxism* (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, pp. 43-91). Letter No. 253

[335] Lenin's fears were fully justified. After he had left, the greater part of his books and papers fell into the hands of the gendarme-

rie and were passed on to the General Staff in Warsaw. In 1954 some of this material was discovered in Poland and sent to the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and part of the documents has been included in the *Collected Works*. Letter No. 253

[336] During the First World War G. V. Plekhanov adopted a social-chauvinist stand by defending the Menshevik tactics of defencism; this met with favourable comments in the bourgeois press. Letter No. 253

[337] The journal referred to is *Prosveshcheniye*, publication of which was to be resumed. In a letter to her sister Maria on April 11, 1915, Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova wrote that it was intended to issue one or two numbers of the journal in summer. In a letter dated April 23, she wrote: "We shall speak about restarting the journal, or rather, of publishing a summer issue, so as not to lose the right to publish it, but so far we have not got down to it. Volodya simply thirsts for a journal and a newspaper of our own." Letter No. 253

[338] In *Sovremenny Mir* No. 9 for 1914 there appeared an ultra-chauvinist article by N. Iordansky entitled "Let There Be Victory!". Letter No. 253

[339] Lenin's sister Maria asked him to try to get information about a prisoner of war, A. Rosenfeldt. In a letter to V. A. Karpinsky in January 1915 Lenin asked whether there was a bureau in Geneva giving information on Russian prisoners of war in Germany. Letter No. 254

[340] Lenin here refers to the split in the German Social-Democratic Party between the majority, the opportunist Centrists who followed Kautsky, and the radical Left wing. Letter No. 255

[341] *Lichtstrahlen* (Rays of Light)—a monthly journal published by Left Social-Democrats (the International Socialists of Germany) under the editorship of J. Borhardt. It was published irregularly from 1913 to 1921 in Berlin. Letter No. 255

[342] Early in June 1915 Lenin and Krupskaya had left Berne for the mountain village of Sörenberg, where they spent the summer. Letter No. 256

[343] The letter has been lost. Lenin was looking for a publisher for his book *New Data on the Laws Governing the Development of Capitalism in Agriculture. Part One. Capitalism and Agriculture in the United States of America*, written in 1915 (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, pp. 13-102). It was probably about this book that Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova wrote to her sister Maria on February 27, 1915; "Thanks for trying to find someone for Volodya's book—

because of this I shall postpone the conclusion of an agreement with Bonch (he offers 50 rubles a signature for 3,000 copies)."

Lenin began his study of U.S. farming statistics much earlier, as can be seen from his letters to the New York economist I. A. Hourwich on February 27 and to N. N. Nakoryakov on May 18, 1914.

When Lenin finished work on the book at the end of 1915 he sent the MS to Gorky in Petrograd for the *Parus* Publishing House (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, p. 212). It was eventually published in pamphlet form in 1917 by the *Zhizn i Znaniye* Publishers.

Letter No. 256

[344] It was later revealed that the information given concerned another man of the same name; A. Rosenfeldt, in whom the Ulyanovs were interested, had been killed at the front. Letter No. 257

[345] On February 21, 1916, Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova wrote this to her sister Maria: "I have had a letter from Nadya who writes that their landlady drove them to desperation; they went all over the place but could not find another room anywhere, then hit upon the idea of going to Zürich for a couple of weeks to work in the local libraries. She wrote about this trip and the little shake-up as of something pleasurable." Krupskaya's letter has been lost. Letter No. 257

[346] Lenin wrote about his sister Anna's illness for reasons of secrecy; actually she had been arrested on July 21, 1916. She was released in October and banished to Astrakhan Gubernia; since she was really ill, however, she was allowed to remain in Petrograd; during the winter her house was twice searched but nothing was found. In February 1917 she was again arrested although nothing was found on this occasion either; a few days later she was released by the revolutionary people. Letter No. 259

[347] The book referred to was Lenin's *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* which he wrote in the first half of 1916 and on July 2 sent via Paris to Parus Publishers in Petrograd; on Gorky's initiative this publishing house put out a series of popular booklets on the countries of Western Europe during the First World War. The series was edited by M. N. Pokrovsky, who was in Paris at the time, and through him Lenin maintained contact with the publishers. The manuscript did not reach Pokrovsky and a second copy had to he sent. In September 1916 Gorky wrote to Pokrovsky saying, "Lenin is really magnificent". The *Parus* editors, however, protested strongly against Lenin's criticism of Kautsky's apostasy and made some substantial changes to the text—they removed the criticism of Kautsky's theory of ultra-imperialism and distorted several of Lenin's formulations.

Lenin's book was first published in Petrograd in mid-1917 under the title *Imperialism, the Latest Stage of Capitalism*. (*A Popular Outline*) with a Preface by Lenin dated April 26, 1917.

Letter No. 260

[348] *New Data on the Laws Governing the Development of Capitalism in Agriculture. Part One. Capitalism and Agriculture in the United States of America* is the full title of the part published. Lenin intended writing two further parts—on Germany and Austria—and started collecting material. During a search of his house at Poronin on August 7, 1914 three notebooks containing statistical analyses on the agricultural systems of Germany, Austria and Hungary were seized. The Central Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, C.C., C.P.S.U., is in possession of some of the material prepared by Lenin for the next part (on Germany). Lenin was unable to carry out his intention of writing Part Two, Germany. Letter No. 260

[349] Enclosed with the letter was a plan of this work drawn up by Nadezhda Krupskaya. Latter No. 263

[350] Lenin refers here to his book *The State and Revolution. The Marxist Theory of the State and the Tasks of the Proletariat in the Revolution*, on which he was working in August and September 1917 when in hiding (at Razliv and in Helsingfors) (see *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, pp. 385-497). Letter No. 265

[351] Lenin recommended these books to his sister Maria because she intended writing a book on the British working-class movement. Letter No. 266

[352] At this time Krupskaya was on board the government propaganda vessel *Krasnaya Zvezda* as representative of the People's Commissariat of Education. Propagandists and representatives of a number of People's Commissariats were on board the vessel which sailed from Nizhny Novgorod to Perm, stopping at towns and villages, factories and factory settlements. Krupskaya kept a detailed diary of the voyage.

The telegram from V. M. Pozner which Lenin mentions ran as follows: "The Provisional Executive Committee of the Union of Workers in Education and Socialist Culture has to inform you that the Second All-Russia Communist Conference opens on July 25, two days prior to the opening of the congress appointed for July 27 by a decision of the second session. The Executive Committee requests you to speak on 'The New Personnel in Education and Work Among the People'. Please inform us of your consent." Telegram No. 267

[353] Krupskaya has the following to say about her correspondence with Lenin: "The letter of July 9, 1919 is the only private letter from Vladimir Ilyich that I still have. We did not live much apart. We carried on a considerable correspondence when Ilyich was in prison and during his first year of exile, when he was alone, also during my stay in Ufa. In those days we wrote mostly in invisible ink and letters were destroyed as soon as they had been read.

In 1919 I travelled on the propaganda vessel *Krasnaya Zvezda* for about two months. It was difficult to correspond in this period because of the constant movement of the vessel. But even those few letters I received from Ilyich were all, except one, destroyed, following the habit of underground work acquired in the past." Another letter and a telegram sent by Lenin to the propaganda ship were discovered later (see Letter No. 270 and Telegram No. 269). Letter No. 268

[354] Lenin here refers to Gorki, near Moscow, where he spent any leisure time he had. Lenin first went there on September 24 or 25, 1918. At first he spent his days off there but later, on the insistence of his doctors, he lived there for some time, although even during this period of rest he continued working hard.

Towards the end of 1921 Lenin's health deteriorated seriously. On December 6 he was granted leave of absence and spent the time in Gorki. During his illness (May 23-October 2, 1922) he lived in Gorki and went there on a visit for a few days in early December. From May 15, 1923 to his death on January 21, 1924, Lenin lived in Gorki, leaving there only on rare occasions.

The place is now called Gorki Leninskiye and a Lenin Museum was opened there on the twenty-fifth anniversary of his death. Letter No. 268

[355] This telegram is in answer to the following telegram from Krupskaya: "Moscow, Comrade Lenin. July 10, 1919. Kazan. Arrived in Kazan today. Am well. Very much work. Am moving on. Are you keeping well? *Ulyanova*." Telegram No. 269

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U

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Zvezda (The Star), St. Petersburg, 1910, No. 1, September 16, 4 pp.—(215)

INDEX OF NAMES

A

Akimov (*Makhnovets*), *V. P.* (1872-1921)—Social-Democrat; arrested in 1897 and banished in April 1898 to Yeniseisk Gubernia. In September 1898 escaped abroad and became one of the leaders of the League of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad.—(73)

Al. Andreyevich—see Zalezhsky, A. A.

Alexander Ivanovich—see Veretennikov, A. I.

Alexander Leontyevich—see Malchenko, A. L.

Alexandrov, *A.*—compiler of an English-Russian Dictionary.—(144)

Alexeyev (*Alexejeff*), *N. A.* (born 1873)—member of the Party from 1897; trained as a doctor. His revolutionary activities began in St. Petersburg at the close of the nineties; in the spring of 1897 he joined the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. Arrested early in 1898 and banished to Vyatka Gubernia for four years; escaped from there abroad in 1899. From 1900 to 1905 lived in London; was member of the League of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad and then of the League of Russian Revolutionary Social-Democrats Abroad. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. was Bolshevik representative in London.—(138)

Alexinsky, *G. A.* (born 1879)—Social-Democrat at the beginning of his political career; sided with the Bolsheviks during the revolution of 1905-07. Became an otzovist in the period of reaction, was one of the organisers of the anti-Party *Vperyod* group.—(163)

Al. K., Alexandra Kirillovna—see Chebotaryova, A. K.

Almazov, *P.*—author of the book *Nasha Revolyutsiya* (Our Revolution).—(162)

Alyushkevich, *N. O.* (born 1873)—took part in the revolutionary movement in St. Petersburg from 1892; arrested in 1893 in connection with the organisation of the Central Workers' Circle and kept under special police surveillance. Later, in Novgorod, took part in the organisation of a print-

Editor's note: The figures in brackets at the end of each entry indicate the number of the letter in which the name occurs; figures preceded by the letter K refer to Krupskaya's letters. The italicised figures refer to preface pages.

ing press, for which he was again arrested in 1897; in 1898 sentenced to five years exile in Eastern Siberia.—(63)

A. M., *Ant. M.*—see Rosenberg, A. M.

Amicis, *Edmondo*, *de* (1846-1908)—Italian writer, member of the Italian Socialist Party from 1894. His book *Schoolfellows* was published in Moscow in Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova's translation in 1898.—(38, 42)

A. N.—see Potresov, A. N.

Anatoly, *Anatoly Alexandrovich*—see Vaneyev, A. A.

Andreyev, *Leonid* (1871-1919)—Russian novelist and playwright.—(177)

Andreyeva, *M. F.* (1868-1953)—member of the R.S.D.L.P. from 1904; well-known Russian actress, prominent in public life, wife of Maxim Gorky.—(159)

Anna Ilyinichna, *Anyuta*, *Anya*—see Ulyanova-Yelizarova, A. I.

Apollinariya Alexandrovna—see Yakubova, A. A.

Ardashev, *D. A.* (1864-1915)—Lenin's cousin, notary public.—(12)

Ardasheva, *E. N.*—wife of D. A. Ardashev.—(12)

Arefyev, *V. S.* (1875-1901)—began taking part in the revolutionary movement in the early nineties; arrested in 1894 and banished to Vyatka, and later to Kazachinskoye, Minusinsk District, Siberia. When in Vyatka, contributed to the periodicals *Vyatskaya Gazeta* (Vyatka Gazette) and *Vyatsky Krai* (Vyatka Area), and when in Siberia, contributed to *Vostochnoye Obozreniye* (Eastern Review) and *Sibirskaya Zhizn* (Siberian Life), for which he was expelled from Kazachinskoye. On return from exile, joined the Socialist-Revolutionary Party.—(73)

Armand (*Petrova*), *Inessa* (1874-1920)—member of the Bolshevik Party from 1904, professional revolutionary, active in world communist and working women's movements. Did Party work in Moscow, St. Petersburg and abroad. Was active during the revolution of 1905-07. Several times arrested and banished; went abroad in 1909, lived at first in Brussels and later (1910) in Paris. Was elected secretary to the Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. Organisation Abroad. In 1911 took part in the Party school at Longjumeau. Returned clandestinely to Russia in 1912 and as representative of the C.C. did extensive work preparing for elections to the Fourth Duma in St. Petersburg. During the world imperialist war took part in the World Women's Socialist Conference (1915), World Youth Conference (1915), and the Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences of internationalists. After the October Socialist Revolution was member of the Moscow Gubernia Party Committee, and of the Moscow Gubernia Executive Committee; was chairman of the Moscow Gubernia Economic Council. Became head of the Women's Department of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) in 1918.—(245, K 48)

Arzt—see Krutovsky, V. M.

Aunt, *Auntie*—see Kalmykova, A. M.

Aunt—see Ponomaryova, L. A.

A. V.—see Sklyarenko, A. P.

Avenarius, Richard (1843-96)—German bourgeois philosopher, subjective idealist.—*33* (182, 184, 188)

Avgusta Pavlovna—see Nevzorova, A. P.

Avilov, B. V. (1874-1938)—Social-Democrat, journalist and statistician.—(85)

Axelrod, P. B. (1850-1928)—Social-Democrat, took part in the activities of the Emancipation of Labour group, one of the editors of *Iskra* and *Zarya*; became a Menshevik following the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903).—*48*, *49*

B

Babbage, Charles (1792-1871)—British mathematician and mechanic; professor of mathematics at Cambridge University from 1828 to 1839; famous as the compiler of logarithmic tables.—(71)

Baedeker, Karl (1801-59)—compiler of guides to the Rhineand, Middle, North and South Germany, Switzerland, etc., that earned a reputation for accuracy. His sons continued the publication of such guides.—(52, 151)

Baramzin, Y. V.—Social-Democrat, became an *Iskra* supporter in 1891, was leader of Marxist study circles; banished to Eastern Siberia in 1898; in 1899 was one of the 17 Social-Democrats who signed Lenin's "Protest by Russian Social-Democrats" against the *Credo* of the Economists.—(K 19)

Basil—see Starkov, V. V.

Bauer, Otto (1882-1938)—one of the leaders of the Right wing of the Austrian Social-Democrats and the Second International; he propagandised the bourgeois-nationalist theory of "cultural-national autonomy".—(161)

Bazarov (*Rudnev*), *V. A.* (1874-1939)—participated in the Social-Democratic movement from 1896; contributed to a number of Bolshevik publications between 1905 and 1907. Left the Bolsheviks during the period of reaction and advocated "God-building" and empirio-criticism; was one of the chief Machist reformers of Marxism.—(175, 179)

Becher, Erich (1882-1929)—German philosopher (see also *Collected Works*, Vol. 14, p. 401).—(176)

Beer, Max (born 1864)—German historian.—(243, 266, K 47)

Beethoven, Ludwig van (1770-1827)—German composer.—(245)

Beltov, N.—see Plekhanov, G. V.

Berdyayev, N. A. (1874-1948)—reactionary idealist philosopher and mystic. In his first writings took the stand of a "legal Marxist" and then became an open enemy of Marxism.—(K 29)

Bernstein, Eduard (1850-1932)—leader of the extreme opportunist wing of the German Social-Democratic Party and the Second International; the theoretician of revisionism and reformism.—*50*, *51*, *53* (87, 88, 90, 96, 98, K 19)

Beilis, M. T. (born 1873)—clerk in a Kiev brickyard. A Jew

by nationality, he was falsely accused of the ritual murder of a Christian boy in 1911.—(250)

Bezobrazov, *V. P.*—economist.—(39)

Blazejewski, *M. V.* (1831-97)—Warsaw worker, participant in the Polish uprising of 1863. Was in Vilna in 1894, where he was arrested for revolutionary activities among the workers; in 1895, though sick and ageing, he was banished to Eastern Siberia for six years. Towards the end of his life he sided with the Social-Democrats.—(32)

Blos, *Wilhelm* (1849-1927)—historian, publicist, member of the German Social-Democratic Party. Author of *The French Revolution, 1789-1804* and *History of the German Revolution of 1848*.—(61, 67, K 8, K 12)

Bogdanov, *A.* (*Malinovsky*, *A. A.*) (1873-1928)—Social-Democrat, philosopher, sociologist, economist. Joined the Bolsheviks after the Second Party Congress. Headed the otzovist movement during the years of reaction and subsequent revolutionary revival and was leader of the anti-Party *Vperyod* group. Attempted to create his own philosophical system, empirio-monism, a variant of the subjective idealism in Machist philosophy which Lenin criticised sharply in his *Materialism and Empirio-criticism*.—*53*, *55*, *56* (39, 40, 89, 90, 157, 168, 175, 182, 183, 184)

Bock, *I. I.* (1848-1916)—statistician, in the seventies editor of Central Statistical Committee of the Ministry of the Interior.—(20)

Bonch-Bruyevich, *V. D.* (1873-1955)—joined the Party in 1895. In 1904 headed the communications department of the C.C. and later organised the publication of Bolshevik literature (Publishing House of Bonch-Bruyevich and N. Lenin). Was later active in organising Bolshevik newspapers, journals and Party publishing offices. After the October Revolution he was the office manager of the Council of People's Commissars (until October 1920), then chief editor of the *Zhizn i Znaniye* (Life and Knowledge) Publishers; held other responsible posts and also did research.—(160, 162, 172, 173, 260, 261, K 54)

Bookseller—see Potresov, A. N.

Borinevich, *A. S.*—Zemstvo statistician.—(39)

Borodin, *A. P.* (1833-1887)—Russian composer.—(K 41)

Borovikovsky, *A. L.* (1844-1905)—publicist, jurist.—(50)

Bourget, *Paul* (born 1852)—French writer, elected to the French Academy in 1894. In his play *La Barricade*, Bourget reveals himself as a fanatical enemy of the working-class revolutionary movement.—(202)

Braun, *Heinrich* (1854-1927)—German Social-Democrat, journalist, one of the founders of *Die Neue Zeit*, editor of *Archiv für soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik* and a number of other periodicals; deputy to the Reichstag.—(25, 37, 61, 112)

Bulgakov, *S. N.* (1871-1944)—bourgeois economist, idealist philosopher. In the nineties was a "legal Marxist". Attempted to revise the Marxist agrarian policy.—*50* (40, 43, 64, 80, 85, 86, 87, 88, 93, 97, 98, 99, K 2, K 15)

Bulochkins—see Nevzorova, A. P., Nevzorova-Krzhizhanovskaya, Z. P., Nevzorova-Shesternina, S. P.

C

Cauwelaert, *Jan F.*, *van* (born 1880)—Belgian jurist and statesman. Between 1905 and 1907 published a number of articles expressing idealist views on philosophy in the *Revue Néo-Scolastique*; in 1907 he became professor extraordinary at Freiburg University.—(175)

Chaikovsky, *P. I.* (1840-1893)—Russian composer.—*38* (146, K 41)

Chebotaryov, *I. N.* (1861-1934)—member of the Narodnaya Volya, participant in the revolutionary movement from 1886.—(134)

Chebotaryova, *A. K.*—wife of I. N. Chebotaryov.—(13, 15, 16, 134)

Chechurina, *A. I.*—see Meshcheryakova, A. I.

Chekhov, *A. P.* (1860-1904)—Russian writer.—(123)

Chelpanov, *G. I.* (born 1862)—philosopher and psychologist,—(166)

Chernov, *V. M.* (1876-1952)—one of the leaders and theoreticians of the Socialist-Revolutionaries.—*54* (183)

Chernyshevsky, *N. G.* (1828-1889)—revolutionary democrat and utopian socialist, scientist, writer and literary critic; one of the great forerunners of Russian Social-Democracy.—*55* (185)

Chicagoan—see Yonov, V. A.

Chigorin, *M. I.* (1850-1908)—founder of the Russian chess school. Published the magazines *Shakhmatny Listok* (Chess Sheet) and *Shakhmatny Vestnik* (Chess Herald).—(85)

Chuprov, *A. I.* (1842-1908)—economist, professor, Narodnik publicist.—(22, 25)

Columbus—see Lalayants, I. Kh.

Cousin—see Krasin, G. B.

Cunow, *Heinrich* (1862-1936)—German Right-wing Social-Democrat. Historian, sociologist and ethnographer, professor. Editor of *Die Neue Zeit*, journal of the German Social-Democratic Party, from 1917 to 1923. Was at first a Marxist but later became a revisionist and falsifier of Marxism.—(93, 243)

D

D. A.—see Ardashev, D. A.

Dan (*Gurvich*), *F. I.* (1871-1947)—one of the leaders of the Mensheviks. Headed the liquidator group abroad during the period of reaction and the subsequent revolutionary revival. Was a social-chauvinist during the First World War.—(247)

Danielson, *N. F.* (*N. —on*) (1844-1918)—writer on economics, one of the liberal Narodnik theoreticians in the eighties and nineties.—(16, K 11)

Danski, B. G. (*Komarovski, K. A., X.*) (born 1883)—member of the Polish Socialist Party from 1901. In 1911 joined the R.S.D.L.P. and contributed to the newspapers *Zvezda* and *Pravda*. Was editor of the journal *Voprosy Strakhovaniya* in 1913 and 1914.—(247)

Dauge, P. C. (1869-1946)—took part in revolutionary activities from the late eighties, became a Bolshevik after the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. Engaged in publishing from 1907-1912.—(165)

Davydov, I. A. (1866-1942)—member of the first Marxist study circles in Moscow. Arrested and banished several times for revolutionary activities. In 1900 published the book *Chto zhe takoye ekonomichesky materialism?* (What Is Meant by Economic Materialism?) about which Lenin made a number of critical remarks on reading it. After the October Revolution he worked in Petrograd on public education bodies and in several publishing houses. Member of the C.P.S.U. from 1920. From 1924 to 1933 was lecturer and later professor of political economy at Leningrad University.—(103)

D. I., Dmitry Ilyich—see Ulyanov, D. I.

Director—see Radchenko, S. I.

Dobkovich, V. I. (1868-1937)—dentist, member of the first Russian Association of Dentists. After the October Revolution worked in the Petrograd Health Department.—(15)

Doctor—see Lyakhovsky, Y. M.

"*Doctor*"—see Sklyarenko, A. P.

Dominika—see Trukhovskaya, D. V.

Dostoyevsky, F. M. (1822-1881)—Russian writer.—(42)

Dubouchez—surgeon.—(192)

Dubrovinsky, I. F. (1877-1913)—professional revolutionary, Bolshevik. One of the leaders of the Moscow Workers' Union. *Iskra* agent from 1902. Co-opted on to the Central Committee after the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. One of the organisers and leaders of the Moscow armed uprising in 1905.—(157)

E

Écrivain—see Struve, P. B.

Editor—see Struve, P. B.

E. E., Elvira Ernestovna—see Rosenberg, E. E.

Engberg, O. A.—worker at the Putilov Plant. Exiled to Eastern Siberia under police surveillance in October 1897 for participation in the revolutionary movement. Served a term of exile in Shushenskoye, Yeniseisk Gubernia.—(40, 101, K 7, K 8, K 11, K 12, K 16, K 17)

Engelhardt, M. N.—author of the article "*Otkryvayushchiyesya karty*".—(100)

Engels, Frederick (1820-1895).—(35, 197, 243)

F

Fedoseyev, N. Y. (1871-1898)—one of the first Marxists in Russia, organiser and leader of Marx-

ist circles.—*49*, *63* (22, 28, 35, 38, 51, 52, 53, 63, 67)

Fedulova, *A. J.*—a doctor with a practice in Barnaul, later in Tomsk.—(114, 115, 117)

Feuerbach, *Ludwig Andreas* (1804-1872)—German materialist philosopher and atheist.—(179, 180, 183)

Fiedler, *F. F.*—compiler of a German grammar.—(65)

Filaret (*Drozdov*, *V. M.*) (1782-1867)—one of the most reactionary figures in the history of the Russian Orthodox Church, a zealous defender of serfdom. Became Metropolitan of Moscow in 1826. Author of the scholasticist *Catechism of the Orthodox Church*.—(4)

Filippov, *M. M.* (1858-1903)—Russian scientist, philosopher and writer; supported the "legal Marxists". Founded the journal *Nauchnoye Obozreniye* in 1894.—(105, 106, K 21, K 27, K 29, K 31)

Foville, *A.*—author of *La France économique*.—(16)

France, *Anatole* (*Thibaut*, *Jacques Anatole*) (1844-1924)—prominent French writer.—(163)

Frelikh, *N. N.*—solicitor; while in St. Petersburg in 1894 maintained contact with a Narodnaya Volya group and helped to publish proclamations; arrested in 1898 and banished to Eastern Siberia for five years.—(63)

Friedmann, *S. M.*—wife of a doctor in Minusinsk whose address was used by exiles to obtain literature and money.—(52, 54, K 5)

G

Galina—see Rozmirovich, Y. F.

Gilbreth, *F. B.*—author of *Motion Study*. A Method for Increasing the Efficiency of the Workman.—(260, 261)

Ginsburg, *S. M.* (1863-1891)—revolutionary, terrorist; carried on propaganda among soldiers and young people. In 1887-88 she attempted to unite isolated revolutionary groups and recreate the Narodnaya Volya Party. She organised the attempt on the life of Alexander III. Was arrested in 1889 and sentenced to death; the sentence was commuted to penal servitude for life. Committed suicide in the Schlüsselburg Fortress.—(32)

Gleb—see Krzhizhanovsky, G. M.

Goldenberg, *I. P.* (*Meshkovsky*) (1873-1922)—Social-Democrat, became a Bolshevik after the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. Attended the Fifth (London) Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. in 1907 and was elected to the C.C. by the Bolsheviks.—(162)

Goldman—see Gorev, B. I.

Gold-Prospector—see Maslov, P. P.

Golovin, *K. F.* (1843-1913)—reactionary publicist and writer. In his writings (including the book *Muzhik bez progressa ili progress bez muzhika*) he upheld the interests of the big landed proprietors and the monarchy.—(15)

Gora—see Lozgachov, G. Y.

Gorbunov-Posadov, *I. I.* (1864-1940)—Russian writer and educationalist, publisher.—(K 51, K 54)

Gorev (*Goldman*), *B. I.* (born 1874)—Social-Democrat, member of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. In 1897 was arrested and banished to Olekminsk.—(63)

Gorky, *Maxim* (*Peshkov*, *A. M.*) (1868-1936)—Russian proletarian writer, founder of socialist realism and of Soviet literature.—*56* (135, 140, 159, 168, 172, 197, 216, 228, 268, 269, 270, K 23)

Grachevskaya, *M. A.*—cousin of Lenin on his mother's side.—(K 21)

Grafov.—(1)

Granat, *A. N.* and *I. N.*—In 1892 they headed a publishing firm founded in Moscow by a group of scholars and scientists.—*34*, *35* (158, 160, 170, 253, 254, 255, 260, K 53, K 54)

Grassmann, *Hermann* (1809-1877)—German mathematician, physicist and philologist (see also *Collected Works*, Vol. 14, p. 402).—(183)

Grigoryev, *M. G.* (born 1871)—Social-Democrat, member of the Kazan group of revolutionaries headed by N. Y. Fedoseyev. Carried on revolutionary work in Nizhny Novgorod from 1891-93, was arrested in 1894 and banished to Samara under police surveillance. In 1895 and 1896 took part in a Marxist study circle in Samara and contributed to *Samarsky Vestnik*. Was arrested in May 1896 and in 1897 banished to Archangel Gubernia. On return from exile retired from politics.—(60, 64)

Grigoryeva, *N. A.* (born 1865)—one of the first women workers to devote herself to the revolutionary movement; in 1891 and 1892 was active in organising Marxist groups in St. Petersburg and represented Vyborg District in the Central Workers' Circle. Arrested at Narva in 1894 and in 1895 banished to Eastern Siberia for five years; later entered the Socialist-Revolutionary Party.—(51).

Guesde, *Jules* (*Basil*, *Mathieu Jules*) (1845-1922)—one of the organisers and leaders of the French socialist movement and the Second International. On the outbreak of the First World War took a social-chauvinist stand and joined the bourgeois government of France.—(91)

Gumplowicz, *Ludwig* (1838-1909)—Polish bourgeois jurist and sociologist.—(29, 53, 54)

Gurevich, *E. L.* (*Smirnov*, *Y.*) (born 1865)—Social-Democrat, Menshevik. During the period of reaction and the subsequent revolutionary revival was a liquidator, one of the founders and a contributor to *Nasha Zarya*, the periodical of the Menshevik liquidators. During the First World War was a social-chauvinist.—(160, 255)

Gvozdyov, *R.* (*Zimmermann*, *R. E.*) (1866-1900)—a writer whose stories and articles on economics were published in *Russkoye Bogatstvo*, *Zhizn* and *Nauchnoye Obozreniye*. In 1896 he was one of the leading figures on *Samarsky Vestnik*, a daily newspaper. His best known work was *Kulachestvo-rostovshchichestvo*, *yego ob-*

shchestvenno-ekonomicheskoye znacheniye, which was reviewed by Lenin.—*49* (3, 74, 79, 89)

H

Hauptmann, Gerhart (1862-1946)—German playwright; one of his best known plays is *The Weavers*, in which he shows the plight of the workers under capitalism.—(9)

Helvétius, Claude Adrien (1715-1771)—French materialist philosopher and atheist, one of the 18th-century bourgeois theoreticians of the French Revolution.—*52* (K 16)

Hering, Ewald (1834-1918)—German physiologist, best known for his work on the physiology of the sense organs. His philosophy showed idealist tendencies.—(179, 183)

Historian—see Skvortsov-Stepanov, I. I.

Hobson, John Atkinson (1858-1940)—English economist, bourgeois reformist and pacifist—(154, 260, 261)

Holbach, Paul Henri Dietrich (1723-1889)—French materialist philosopher and atheist, one of the theoreticians of the 18th-century revolutionary French bourgeoisie.—*52* (K 16)

Hopfenhaus, M. G. (1862-1898)—a friend of N. Y. Fedoseyev; Lenin conducted his correspondence with Fedoseyev through her.—(52, 53)

Hugo, C.—translated the Webbs' *Industrial Democracy* into German, published in Stuttgart in 1898.—(87)

Hume, David (1711-1776)—English philosopher, subjective idealist, agnostic; bourgeois historian and economist.—(180)

Huschke, Leo—German bourgeois economist.—(161)

I

Ilovaisky, D. I. (1832-1920)—historian and publicist of aristocratic, monarchist ideas, author of official history textbooks for the pre-revolutionary elementary and secondary schools in Russia.—(4)

Ilyin, V.—Lenin, V. I.

Ingram, John Kells (1823-1907)—British economist and philologist, professor of Dublin University, president of the economics division of the British Association, author of *A History of Political Economy* and a number of articles on economics in the Encyclopaedia Britannica.—(16)

K

Kablukov, N. A. (1849-1919)—economist and statistician, professor of Moscow University; supporter of liberal Narodniks. From 1885 to 1907 headed the department of statistics at the Moscow Gubernia Zemstvo; *Sborniki statisticheskikh svedenii po Moskovskoi gubernii (1877-79)* (Summaries of Statistical Data on Moscow Gubernia) was compiled under his guidance. He contributed to several newspapers and magazines.—(35, 38, 69, 72, 81, 85, 86)

Kachorovsky, K. R. (born 1870)—economist. In the early nineties was a member of the St. Petersburg Narodnaya Volya group. Later contributed to the Party press of the Social-Democrats although he did not formally belong to the Party. Author of a number of studies on the agrarian question.—(103)

Kalmykova, A. M. (*Aunt, Auntie*) (1840-1926)—progressive, prominent in public affairs; took part in the Narodnaya Volya movement, closely connected with the Emancipation of Labour group and the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. Because of her revolutionary activity she was kept under police surveillance. From 1889 to 1902 maintained a book warehouse that was used by Social-Democrats as a meeting place; she gave the Bolsheviks financial aid.—(34, 54, 60, 61, 65, 68, 75, 80, 85, 138)

Kamenev, L. B. (*Rosenfeld*) (1883-1936)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1901. Sided with Bolsheviks after the Second Congress. During the years of reaction maintained a conciliatory attitude towards the liquidators, otzovists and Trotskyites. Following the 1917 February Revolution opposed the Party policy of advancing to the socialist revolution and was against the armed uprising. Occupied a number of important posts after the October Revolution. Often wavered and opposed Lenin's policies. In 1927 was expelled from the C.P.S.U. at the Fifteenth Congress as an active member of the Trotskyite opposition; he was twice reinstated and again expelled for anti-Party activities.—*53* (158)

Kamenev, S. S. (1881-1936)—an officer of the old army (colonel) who went over to the Soviet side after the October Revolution. In September 1918 placed in command of the Eastern Front. From July 1919 to April 1924 commanded the Armed Forces of the Republic. Joined the C.P.S.U. in 1930.—(268)

Kamensky, N.—see Plekhanov, G. V.

Kant, Immanuel (1724-1804)—founder of classical German philosophy. The Kantian philosophy was a variation of subjective idealism and agnosticism but had, at the same time, certain materialist tendencies.—*55*

Karpinsky, V. A. (1880-1965)—founder member of the C.P.S.U., prominent Party writer and propagandist. Joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1898; Bolshevik.—*31*

Karyshev, N. A. (1855-1905)—economist and statistician, Zemstvo member; author of many books and magazine articles on peasant farming in Russia, in which he upheld the views of the liberal Narodniks.—(65, K 7, K 8)

Kautsky, Karl (1854-1938)—one of the leaders of the German Social-Democrats and the Second International, at first a Marxist, later a renegade from Marxism and theoretician of the most dangerous and harmful variety of opportunism—

Centrism (Kautskyism).—*50* (86, 87, 160, 161, 162, K 28, K 30)

Kemmerer, E. B.—author of the book *Technischer Fortschritt* (Technical Progress)—(260, 261)

Klyuchevsky, V. O. (1841-1911)—leading Russian bourgeois historian, professor of Moscow University; member of the Constitutional-Democratic Party.—(2, 3)

Knipovich, A. I. (1860-1919)—wife of N. M. Knipovich. Did not herself participate in the revolutionary movement but helped Social-Democratic organisations.—(101, 134)

Knipovich, L. M. (1856-1920)—began her revolutionary activities in the late seventies in Narodnaya Volya groups in Helsingfors; joined Social-Democrats in the nineties. Played an important part in establishing communications between *Iskra* and local Party organisations in Russia. Several times arrested and banished. Carried on Party work in St. Petersburg, Tver and Odessa.—*35* (156, 163, 261)

Knipovich, N. M. (1862-1939)—prominent zoologist and public-spirited scholar. Elected *Privat-dozent* of St. Petersburg University in 1893 but later expelled from the University as politically unreliable. From 1911-1930 held the chair of zoology and general biology at the Women's St. Petersburg (later First Leningrad) Medical Institute.—(101)

Kobelyatsky, A. I. (1862-1907)—compiler of a handbook on factory legislation, Deputy Minister of Railways.—(16)

Kocher, Theodor (1841-1917)—Swiss surgeon. Professor of Berne University; developed a number of methods for the operative treatment of the central nervous system and of diseases of the thyroid gland, including goitre.—(238, 241, 242)

Kokhanskaya—see Sokhanskaya, N. S.

Kokushka—see Malchenko, A. L.

Kon, Felix (1863-1941)—prominent in Polish revolutionary movement, in which he participated from 1882. In 1884 arrested for revolutionary activities and sentenced to 10 years 8 months penal servitude. After serving his sentence he lived in Siberia until 1904, where he engaged in literary and other work.—(32)

Kovalevsky, M. M. (1851-1916)—historian, bourgeois-liberal politician; became professor of Moscow University in 1880. Went abroad in 1887. Jointly with Roberti, established the Russian Higher School of Social Sciences in Paris. Returned to Russia in 1905 and was elected member of the First Duma; was later a member of the State Council. He was one of the founders of the Democratic Reform Party that occupied a place to the right of the Constitutional-Democrats.—(65, 66)

Krasikov, P. A. (1870-1939)—Social-Democrat, Bolshevik, frequently persecuted by the tsarist government.—(K 8)

Krasin, G. B. (*Cousin*)—brother of L. B. Krasin; member of

a St. Petersburg Marxist circle in 1893.—27 (120)

Krasnoperov, *I. M.* (born 1840)—one of the middle-class intellectuals prominent in the sixties; connected with army revolutionary circles. Took part in the "Kazan plot" organised in 1863 at the time of the rising in Poland for the purpose of diverting troops from that country. Received a sentence of 8 years penal servitude, later commuted to imprisonment and then to police surveillance. When released from surveillance, he became head of the Department of Statistics of Samara and later of Tver Zemstvos; he contributed to *Russkiye Vedomosti*.—(64)

Krestinsky, *N. N.* (1883-1938)—joined the Social-Democratic movement in 1903, and the Bolsheviks in 1905. Worked in St. Petersburg trade unions, in Duma groups and in the Bolshevik press from 1907 onwards. In 1917 was chairman of the Yekaterinburg and Urals Regional Committees of the R.C.P.(B.). Was People's Commissar of Finance of the R.S.F.S.R. from 1918 to 1921 and Secretary of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.). Was later Soviet Ambassador to Germany and Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs.—(270)

Krumbügel, *L.*—publisher of Lenin's *Materialism and Empirio-criticism*.—(174, 175, 176, 182, 187, 189, 191, 195, 229, 234)

Krupskaya, *N. K.* (*Rybkina*) (1869-1939)—wife of V. I. Lenin (see Note 47)

Krupskaya, *Y. V.* (1842-1915)—N. K. Krupskaya's mother (see Note 76).—(38, 44, 47, 49, 55, 61, 62, 65, 68, 72, 70, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 86, 90, 94, 96, 98, 101, 116, 128, 129, 133, 134, 135, 139, 140, 142, 143, 144, 146, 148, 151, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 166, 191, 193, 197, 208, 209, 213, 218, 221, 225, 226, 227, 228, 230, 233, 237, 238, 239, 243, 244, 245, 246, 248, 249, 250, 253, 254, 255)

Krushvits—tenant of the Alakayevka farm in 1893.—(2)

Krutovsky, *V. M.* (*Arzt*) (1856-1945)—follower of the Narodniks in the eighties; physician by profession. Lived in Krasnoyarsk. Was frequently kept under police surveillance (sometimes having to report to the police). After the February Revolution was Gubernia Commissar of the Provisional Government. In the thirties taught at the Krasnoyarsk Medical School and was a member of the Society of Physicians.—(17)

Krzhizhanovsky, *G. M.* (*Poet Friend*) (1872-1959)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1893; like Lenin, was one of the organisers of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. In December 1895 was arrested and banished to Siberia (Minusinsk District) for three years.—(20, 21, 22, 26, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 44, 47, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 57, 68, 72, 78, 79, 82, 83, 93, 98, 109, 130, K 9, K 10, K 14, K 15, K 17, K 19, K 27, K 28, K 31)

Kuba—see Yakubova, A. A.

Kugushev, *Y. Y.* (born 1871)—whilst a student at the St.

Petersburg Institute of Technology (early nineties) took part in publishing Lenin's book *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats*. In 1898 was arrested for revolutionary propaganda among workers; he was banished to Vyatka Gubernia, where he continued his revolutionary work. After the October Revolution worked in the Soviet Trade Mission in London.—Appendix I, p. 554

Kurnatovsky, V. K. (1868-1912)—professional revolutionary. In 1886 attended Narodnik study circles but left the Narodniks in 1893 and joined the Emancipation of Labour group abroad. Returned to Russia in 1897, was arrested and banished to Eastern Siberia. Met Lenin in Minusinsk. In August 1899, together with 16 others, signed Lenin's "Protest by Russian Social-Democrats" against the *Credo* of the Economists. After his return from exile he did revolutionary work in Tiflis. In 1903 was again arrested and banished to Yakutia. During the First Russian Revolution he organised the Soviet of Workers', Soldiers', and Cossacks' Deputies in Chita and was one of the leaders of the armed rising of Chita workers. The rising was defeated, Kurnatovsky was arrested and sentenced to penal servitude for life. In 1906 he escaped abroad.—(55, 65, 73, K 9, K 15, K 18)

Kuskova, Y. D. (1869-1958)—bourgeois politician and publicist, one of the authors of the *Credo*, a document that clearly expressed the opportunist nature of Economism and called forth a strong protest from Russian revolutionary Marxists.—*52*

L

Labriola, Antonio (1843-1904)—Italian writer and philosopher; abandoned bourgeois ideology and became a Marxist at the end of the eighties.—(34, 35, 39, 60, 91)

Lafargue, Laura (1845-1911)—active in the French working-class movement; daughter of Karl Marx, wife of Paul Lafargue. Did a great deal to spread Marxism in France; jointly with her husband she translated into French *Manifesto of the Communist Party* and a number of other writings by Marx and Engels.—(34)

Lalayants, I. Kh. (*Columbus*) (1870-1933)—active in the Social-Democratic movement in Russia. Member of Fedoseyev's Marxist study group in Kazan in 1888-89 and in 1892 conducted revolutionary propaganda in Nizhny Novgorod. In 1893 joined the Marxist group in Samara that was under Lenin's leadership. In 1895 was banished to Yekaterinoslav, took part in forming the local League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class and in preparing the First Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. Helped to publish the first issue of the underground Social-Democratic newspaper *Yuzhny Rabochy* (Southern Worker) in the spring of 1900. Was arrested

in April 1900.—*38* (24, 32, 38, 60, 64, 82, 123)

Lasker, *Emanuel* (1868-1941)—outstanding German chess player, Doctor of Mathematics. Won the world championship in 1894 and retained it for 27 years. Author of several books on chess.—(79)

Lavrov, *P. L.* (1823-1900)—prominent Narodnik theoretician; supporter of the subjectivist school in sociology, author of *Istoricheskiye pisma* (Letters on History) (1868-69).—(162)

Lebedeva, *M. I.* (died 1894)—a woman member of the first Marxist circle in Samara.—(3)

Leiteisen, *G. D.* (*Lindov*) (1874-1919)—Social-Democrat, became a Bolshevik after the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.; contributed to the newspapers *Vperyod*, *Proletary* and other Bolshevik publications.—(157, 162)

Lengnik, *F. V.* (*Lingling*) (1873-1936)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1898. Took part in the Social-Democratic movement from 1893; arrested in 1896 in connection with the case of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, and in 1898 was banished to Eastern Siberia for three years. In August 1899 he was one of the 17 exiles who signed Lenin's "Protest by Russian Social-Democrats" against the *Credo* of the Economists.—(51, 52, 73, 149)

Lenström, *N.*—compiler of a Russo-German and German-Russian Dictionary.—(75, 80)

Lepeshinskaya, *O. B.* (1871-1963)—member of the R.S.D.L.P. from 1898. In 1897 followed her husband, P. N. Lepeshinsky, into exile in Siberia and served as district nurse in the village of Kuraginskoye, Yeniseisk Gubernia. From 1903 to 1906 she lived in Geneva and worked with a group of Bolshevik exiles. She returned to Russia in 1906 and lived in Orsha, where she took an active part in the revolutionary movement; later had a medical practice in Moscow and in the Crimea. In 1919 and later, did pedagogical and research work in Tashkent and Moscow Universities and in the biological and medical institutes of Moscow. Member of the Academy of Medical Sciences of the U.S.S.R.—(55, 65, 101), Appendix I, p. 553 (K 8, K 16)

Lepeshinsky, *P. N.* (1868-1944)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1898 after becoming associated with the Social-Democratic movement in the early nineties. Arrested in 1895 and banished to Siberia in 1897, at first to Yeniseisk Uyezd and then to Minusinsk Uyezd of Yeniseisk Gubernia. Made Lenin's acquaintance while living in exile.—(51, 55, 65, 88, 89, 101) Appendix I, p. 553 (K 11, K 16, K 17)

Lev Borisovich—see Kamenev, L. B.

Levitsky, *N. V.* (born 1859)—liberal Narodnik, economist, contributed to *Russkiye Vedomosti*; secretary of a Zemstvo board, barrister at law.—(97)

Levitsky, *V.* (*Zederbaum*, *V. O.*) (born 1883)—Social-Democrat, Menshevik. One of the leaders of the liquidators in the period of reaction and subsequent revolutionary re-

vival. Was a social-chauvinist during the First World War.—(247)

Levitsky, V. A.—a close acquaintance of the Ulyanov family, was public health officer in Podolsk Uyezd, Moscow Gubernia (see Note 217).—*27* (130, 172)

Lidiya, L. Mikh., Lidiya Mikhailovna, Lidya—see Knipovich, L. M.

Lindov—see Leiteisen, G. D.

Lingling—see Lengnik, F. V.

Lirochka—Yakubova, A. A.

Lokot, T. V.—author of *Byudzhetnaya i podatnaya politika Rossii* (Russia's Budget and Taxation Policy).—(162)

Longuet, Jean (1876-1938)—member of the French Socialist Party, publicist; son of Charles Longuet and Jenny Marx. Was an active contributor to the French and international socialist press.—(100)

Lowell, Percival (1855-1910)—American astronomer, studied Mars.—(168)

Lozgachov, C. Y. (born 1906)—ward of A. I. and M. T. Yelizarov; joined the C.P.S.U. in 1929; from 1925 to 1934 a technician and rate-setter. In 1934 entered Moscow Law School and on graduation became an investigator. In the war years, 1941-45, he served as a jurist in the army and rose in seniority from investigating officer of a division to corps and army investigator. Since 1946 he has worked as a legal consultant and engineer in charge of safety precautions.—(273)

Lozinsky, M. A. (born 1864)—editor of law publications, for a time Governor of Tiflis; in 1892 became a member of the First and Third Divisions of the Free Economic Society.—(37)

Lunacharsky, A. V. (1875-1933)—joined the revolutionary movement in the early nineties. Became a Bolshevik after the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. Was one of the editors of the Bolshevik newspapers *Vperyod* and *Proletary* and, later, of the newspaper *Novaya Zhizn*. In the years of reaction deviated from Marxism, was a member of the *Vperyod* anti-Party group and advocated combining Marxism with religion. During the First World War was an Internationalist. Early in 1917 he became a member of the "inter-district" group and with the group was accepted into the R.S.D.L.P. at the Sixth Congress. After the October Revolution became a prominent statesman; People's Commissar of Education until 1929 and then Chairman of the Science Committee of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. Author of a number of books on art and literature.—*53*, *54*, *55* (182, 183, 184)

Lvovich, C. F.—publisher.—(215)

Lyakhovsky, Y. M. (Doctor) (born 1871)—Social-Democrat, in 1896 arrested in connection with the case of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class and banished to Eastern Siberia for three years. Served his term of exile at Verkholensk in Irkutsk Gubernia and then worked

in the offices of the Transbaikal Railway. Later retired from politics and emigrated to North America where he acquired a medical practice.—(17, 18, 19, 26, 28, 35, 51, 52, 63, 64, 82, 90, 92), Appendix I, p. 553

Lyudmila—see Stal, L. N.

Lyudogovsky, A. P.—author of the book *Osnovy selskokhozyaistvennoi ekonomii i selskokhozyaistvennogo schetovodstva* (Fundamentals of Farm Economics and Farm Accountancy), St. Petersburg, 1875.—(39)

M

Mach, Ernst (1838-1916)—Austrian physicist and philosopher, subjective idealist, one of the founders of empirio-criticism.—(173)

Makhnovets, V. P.—see Akimov, V. P.

Malchenko, A. L. (*Kokushka*) (born 1871)—Social-Democrat; engineer-technologist, employed at the Nevsky Engineering Works. Member of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. Arrested in 1895; in 1897 banished to Archangel Gubernia for three years. Later withdrew from revolutionary activity.—(35, 61, 64)

M. Al., Maria Alexandrovna—see Ulyanova, M. A.

M. A., Mikh. Al., Mikhail Alexandrovich—see Silvin, M. A.

Manya, Manyasha, Maria Ilyinichna, Maria Ulyanova—see Ulyanova, M. I.

Maria Andreyevna—see Grachevskaya, M. A.

Mark—see Yelizarov, M. T.

Martov, L. (*Zederbaum, Y. O., Yegor, Yuly*) (1873-1923)—participated in the Social-Democratic movement from the early nineties. In 1895 took part in organising the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, was arrested and banished to Turukhansk for three years in connection with the League. After return from exile took part (in 1900) in preparing for the publication of *Iskra*. Became the leader of the Mensheviks after the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. Adopted a Centrist position during the First World War. After the October Revolution opposed Soviet power. Went to Berlin in 1920, where he published the counter-revolutionary, Menshevik periodical *Sotsialisticheskiy Vestnik* (Socialist Herald).—*49*, *53* (19, 22, 24, 26, 33, 35, 44, 50, 54, 55, 63, 70, 73, 100, 102, 247, K 19, K 20)

Marx, Karl (1818-1883)—*51* (35, 90, 160, 162, 179, 183, 197, 243, 254, 260, K 21)

Maslov, P. P. (*Gold-Prospector, Samaran*) (1867-1946)—economist, Social-Democrat; author of a number of works on the agrarian question, in which he tried to revise Marxism. In 1896-97 worked on the newspaper *Samarsky Vestnik*. On moving to St. Petersburg contributed to the journals *Nauchnoye Obozreniye*, *Zhizn*, *Nachalo*. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.

became a Menshevik.—*48*, *49* (24, 60, 61, 64, 87, 255)

Mech.—(104)

Mehring, *Franz* (1846-1919)—was prominent in the German working-class movement, one of the leaders and theoreticians of the Left wing of the German Social-Democratic Party. Was an editor of the Party's theoretical journal *Die Neue Zeit* and later edited *Die Leipziger Volkszeitung*. Mehring fought against opportunism and revisionism in the Second International and condemned Kautskianism. He was an internationalist during the First World War and welcomed the October Socialist Revolution. He played a prominent role in the building of the Communist Party of Germany.—(33, 97)

Melnikov, *S. I.* (born 1860)—began his revolutionary activities in the early eighties; in 1884 banished to Eastern Siberia for three years for participation in a Narodnaya Volya group; transferred to Western Siberia in 1887. While in exile, in 1888, arraigned for publishing and distributing a protest and manifesto in the name of "Russian Political Exiles" and banished to Yakutia for three years; settled in Poltava on return from exile in 1892 but in 1895 was again arrested and in 1896 banished to Eastern Siberia for eight years. Served his term of exile in Minusinsk. Later withdrew from revolutionary activity.—(32)

Mendeleyev, *D. I.* (1834-1907)—great Russian scientist, who was also prominent in public affairs.—(39)

Menzhinskaya, *L. P.* (1878-1933)—member of the R.S.D.L.P. from 1904; carried on Party activities in St. Petersburg, fulfilling various underground duties; in 1914 was member of the journal *Rabotnitsa* (The Working Woman). After the October Revolution worked in the People's Commissariat of Education of the R.S.F.S.R.—(269)

Mermod, *Arthur* (1852-1915)—physician (laryngologist) in Strasbourg and later in Lausanne; in 1903 became a professor at Lausanne University.—(172)

Meshcheryakov, *N. L.* (1865-1942)—member of the R.S.D.L.P. from 1901; took part in the revolutionary movement from 1885. In 1893 went to Belgium to complete his education. In 1901 joined the League of Russian Revolutionary Social-Democrats Abroad. Returned to Moscow in 1902 as *Iskra* representative.—(52, 96, K 8, K 9, K 10)

Meshcheryakova, *A. I.* (*Chechurina*, *A. I.*)—teacher at a Sunday evening school in the Neva Tollgate district of St. Petersburg in the early nineties.—(52, 96, K 5, K 7, K 8, K 9)

Meshkovsky—see Goldenberg, I. P.

M. F.—see Vladimirsky, M. F.

M. G., *Maria Germanovna*—see Hopfenhaus, M. G.

M. I.—see Lebedeva, M. I.

M. Iv-na, Maria Ivanovna—see Veretennikova, M. I.

Mickiewicz, *S. I.* (1869-1944)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1893; physician; one of the organisers of the Moscow Workers' Union. Arrested in 1894 and

in 1897 banished to Yakutia. On return from exile conducted revolutionary work in Moscow, Nizhny Novgorod, Saratov. Contributed to Bolshevik newspapers. In 1918 worked at the Moscow Department of Education. Was Deputy Director of Medical Services at first on the Southern and then on the South-Eastern Front. Took up trade union work in 1921. From 1924 to 1934 was Director of the Museum of the Revolution. Later engaged in literary activities.—(51, 117), Appendix I, p. 553

Mikhailovsky, *N. K.* (1842-1904)—prominent liberal Narodnik theoretician, publicist, literary critic, positivist philosopher, a follower of the subjective school in sociology. In 1892 was chief editor of the journal *Russkoye Bogatstvo*, in the columns of which he conducted a fierce struggle against the Marxists.—(76, 87, 162)

Mikulin, *A. A.*—mechanical engineer, factory inspector in Vladimir District and later Senior Factory Inspector of Kherson Gubernia.—(40)

Mirbeau, *Octave* (1850-1917)—French novelist and playwright.—(243)

Mitya—see Ulyanov, D. I.

Modráček, *František* (*Franz*) (1871-1960)—Czech worker; joined the Social-Democratic Party in 1897; Lenin used his address in 1900 and 1901 to send underground correspondence to Russia. Modráček later joined the reformists. In 1924 returned to the Social-Democratic Party—*28* (114, 125, 126), Appendix I, p. 554

Molotov (Skryabin), *V. M.* (born 1890)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1906. Did important Party and government work after the October Revolution. In the summer of 1919 represented the Central Committee of the Party and the Central Executive Committee on the Volgaside.—(270)

M. T.—see Yelizarov, M. T.

Muret, *E.*—compiler of an English-German Dictionary.—(144)

M. T.—see Zvorykina, M. V.

N

Nadson, *S. Y.* (1862-1887)—Russian poet.—(245)

Nanny—see Sarbatova V. G.

Negri, *Ada* (1870-1945)—Italian poetess.—(53, 87)

Nekrasov, *N. A.* (1821-1878)—Russian poet, revolutionary democrat.—(245)

Nevzorova, *A. P.* (1872-1926)—joined the revolutionary movement in St. Petersburg in the early nineties. Arrested several times and kept under police surveillance. Abroad from 1908 until 1917; she was active in the Paris group formed to support the Bolsheviks. After the October Revolution worked at the People's Commissariat of Health, and from 1925 in the C.C. of the Party.—(22, 25, 206)

Nevzorova-Krzhizhanovskaya, *Z. P.* (1870-1948)—began her revolutionary activities in the nineties; took part in the work of the St. Petersburg

League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. In June 1896 was arrested. Spent her term of exile with G. M. Krzhizhanovsky in Tesinskoye, Yeniseisk Gubernia, and, later, in Minusinsk. In 1899 she was one of the 17 Social-Democrats who signed Lenin's "Protest by Russian Social-Democrats" against the *Credo* of the Economists.—(22, 25, 34, 53, 78, 81, 93, K 1, K 4, K 10, K 12, K 13, K 14, K 17, K 19, K 22, K 24, K 25, K 27, K 31, K 53)

Nevzorova-Shesternina, *S. P.*—joined the revolutionary movement in St. Petersburg in 1893. Member of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. In 1896 arrested and, after six months solitary confinement, banished to Nizhny Novgorod. Later she did various Party jobs in the Nizhny Novgorod, Ivanovo-Voznesensk and other committees.—(22, 25)

Nezhdanov, *P.* (*Lipkin*, *F. A.*) (born 1868)—publicist, one of the "critics of Marx", later a Menshevik, persistent liquidator.—(89)

Nikolai Ivanovich—see Veretennikov, N. I.

N. K., *Nad. Konst. Ulyanova*, *Nadezhda Konstantinovna*, *Nadyusha*, *Nadya*—see Krupskaya, N. K.

N. —on—see Danielson, N. F.

Nurok, *P. M.* (1827-1888)—author of textbooks of English.—(44, K 7)

N. Y., *N. Y. F.*—see Fedoseyev, N. Y.

O

O. A., *Olga Alexandrovna*—see Papperek, O. A.

Odessky, *F.*—(200)

Oganovsky, *N. P.*—economist, author of books on the agrarian question.—(255)

Okulova, *G. I.* (born 1878)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1839. In 1896 she was arrested for participation in a student demonstration and banished from Moscow to her native Minusinsk Uyezd in Yeniseisk Gubernia; she was kept under police surveillance in the village of Shoshino. In 1899 she returned from exile and worked in Kiev, Ufa and Poltava and was a member of the Kiev Committee; in December 1902 was again arrested and banished to Yakutsk Region for five years. In 1905 she arrived in St. Petersburg and took an active part in the work of the Bolshevik Committee. In 1918 she headed the Political Department of the Eastern Front, after which she taught in higher educational establishments.—(32, K 28)

Okulova, *Y. I.*—G. I. Okulova's sister; was kept under surveillance of the police in the village of Shoshino for participation in a student demonstration in 1897.—(32)

Oscar—see Engberg, O. A.

P

Papperek, *O. A.*—wife of M. A. Silvin.—(87, 93, 101, 103, K 18, K 23, K 24, K 28)

Parvus (*Helfand*, *A. L.*) (1869-1924)—Menshevik. Left Russia in the eighties; at the turn of the century took part

in the work of the German Social-Democratic Party—he belonged to its Left wing. During the First World War became an extreme chauvinist and agent of German imperialism.—(98, 160)

Pavlovsky, I. Y.—compiler of German-Russian and Russo-German dictionaries.—(15, 65, 75, 80)

P. B.—see Struve, P. B.

Pearson, Karl (1857-1936)—English mathematician, biologist and idealist philosopher.—(179)

Peres, L. S. (born 1877)—Social-Democrat, Bolshevik. Was in exile in Siberia at the beginning of the century. Later active in workers' study circles in Tiflis, Voronezh and Moscow. Worked in bookshops and had connections with I. I. Skvortsov-Stepanov and with L. Krumbügel.—(191)

Peskovsky, M. L. (1843-1903)—publicist, distant relative of Lenin's; wrote moderately liberal articles for the newspapers *Golos*, *Russkoye Obozreniye*, and *Molva* and for the magazines *Vestnik Yevropy*, *Russkaya Mysl* and others.—(34)

Philip II (1527-1598)—king of Spain (1556-98).—(96)

Pisarev, D. I. (1840-1868)—prominent Russian revolutionary democrat, publicist and literary critic; materialist philosopher.—(103)

Plekhanov, G. V. (*Beltov, N., Kamensky, N.*) (1856-1918)—outstanding figure in the Russian and international working-class movement, first propagandist of Marxism in Russia. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. became a Menshevik and during the First World War, a social-chauvinist.—*48*, *49*, *51*, *58* (16, 34, 90, 182, 253, 255)

Pogozhev, A. V. (1853-1913)—public health officer and writer on questions of workers' life and factory legislation.—(16)

Poincaré, Henri (1854-1912)—French mathematician and physicist. His philosophy was close to that of Mach.—(184)

Pokrovsky, M. N. (1868-1932)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1905; historian. Chairman of the Moscow Soviet after the October Revolution. In 1918 Deputy People's Commissar for Education of the R.S.F.S.R.—*33* (269)

Ponomaryova, L. A. (1832-1895)—Lenin's mother's sister (see Note 3).—(1)

Popova, K. G.—owner of the house in Krasnoyarsk in which Lenin lived from March 4 to April 30, 1897, until his departure for Shushenskoye.—(19, 29, 35)

Popova, O. N. (1848-1907)—publisher.—(76, 82, 106, 129, 134, K 54)

Posnikov, A. S. (1846-1921)—economist, professor of political economy at Odessa University and Petrograd Polytechnical Institute.—(22, 25)

Potresov, A. N. (*Publisher, Bookseller*) (1869-1934)—joined Marxists in the nineties; banished to Vyatka Gubernia for participation in the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. Went abroad in 1900 and

helped to found *Iskra*.—*51*, *53* (13, 22, 76, 101, 103)

Pozner, *V. M.* (1877-1957)—Doctor of Philosophy, professor. Joined the revolutionary movement in 1897 and the R.C.P.(B.) in 1917. Member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the R.S.F.S.R. from November 1917 to November 1919. Carried on Party and government work in Turkestan from 1920 to 1922. From 1931 to 1939 worked in the Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., and from 1939, in the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.C., C.P.S.U.—(267, 268)

Preobrazhensky, *A. A.* (1863-1938)—Narodnik, member of the farming commune at the Sharnel hamlet (Samara Gubernia) situated a few versts from Alakayevka, where the Ulyanovs spent the summers from 1889-93. Later joined the Social-Democratic movement and in 1905 worked in Samara.—(135, 137, 209)

Prokopovich, *S. N.* (1871-1955)—bourgeois economist and publicist, a leading figure among the Economists and one of those who advocated Bernsteinism in Russia.—*52* (101)

Prominsky, *I. L.* (1859-1923)—participant in the Polish Social-Democratic movement of the eighties. Arrested in 1894 and in 1897 banished for three years to the village of Shushenskoye, Minusinsk District, Eastern Siberia.—(29, 32, 38, 39, 40, 42, 44, 62, K 7, K 8, K 11, K 12, K 16, K 17)

Protopopov.—(121)

Publisher—see Krumbügel, L.

Publisher—see Potresov, A. N.,

Publisher—see Vodovozova, M. I.

Purishkevich, *V. M.* (1870-1920)—big landowner, arrant reactionary, Black Hundreds supporter, monarchist.—*55* (175, 184)

Pushkin, *A. S.* (1799-1837)—Russian national poet.—(118, 245)

Pyatnitsky, *K. P.* (1864-1938)—one of the founders of the Znaniye Publishers; managing director of the firm.—(172)

Pyotr Kuzmich—see Zaporozhets, P. K.

R

Radchenko, *S. I.* (Director) (1868-1911)—Social-Democrat, began revolutionary activities in 1890. One of the organisers of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class in 1895. Arrested in connection with the League of Struggle in 1896.—(20, 25)

Ragozin, *Y. I.*—author of *Zhelezo i ugol na yuge Rossii*.—(39)

Raichin, *S. G.* (born 1864)—Social-Democrat, in the eighties a member of the Emancipation of Labour group. Sent abroad by the group at the end of 1891 to establish contacts with Social-Democrats. Arrested in April 1892 and banished to Minusinsk in Eastern Siberia for 10 years; escaped in 1898 and later withdrew from the Social-Democratic movement.—(32, 49)

Ravich, *S. N.* (1859-1957)—Social-Democrat, joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1903. Was engaged in Party work in Khar-

kov, St. Petersburg and abroad. Carried on Party and government work after the October Revolution.—*31*

Reiff, *F.*—author of New Parallel Dictionaries of the Russian, French, German and English Languages in Four Parts.—(75, 80)

Rey, *Abel* (1873-1940)—French positivist philosopher.—(187)

Ribot, *Th.*—author of the booklet *Récherches sur la mémoire affective*.—(76, 77)

Ricardo, *David* (1772-1823)—prominent English economist.—(16)

Rimsky-Korsakov, *N. A.* (1844-1908)—Russian composer.—(K 41)

Rivlin, *L. S.* (1876-1960)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1899, Bolshevik. Carried on Party work in St. Petersburg, Gomel and other cities and was persecuted by the tsarist government. Lived in exile abroad from 1907 to 1917.—(K 53)

Rosenberg, *A. M.* (*Schwester*) (1875-1941)—G. M. Krzhizhanovsky's sister, followed her fiancé, V. V. Starkov, into exile.—(20, 21, 22, 25, 26, 28, 31, 32, 35, 78, 93, K 9, K 12, K 14, K 19)

Rosenberg, *E. E.*—G. M. Krzhizhanovsky's mother, followed her son into exile.—(20, 21, 22, 25, 31, 32, 44, 55, 57, 68, 78, 93, K 8, K 1, K 12, K 19)

Rosenfeldt, *A.*—see Notes 339 and 344.—(254, 257)

Roßmäßler, *Emil Adolf* (1806-1867)—German naturalist.—(96)

Rostkovsky, *Y. P.* (born 1870)—joined the revolutionary movement in the nineties while a student at St. Petersburg University. Was interrogated in connection with the printing of a revolutionary appeal to workers on a Narodnaya Volya press and also for being in the possession of and distributing illegal literature; he was banished to Tomsk where he was again arraigned in 1896 and banished to Eastern Siberia for revolutionary activities. He returned from exile in 1901 and later joined the Socialist-Revolutionaries.—(51, 52, 73)

Rousseau, *Jean Jacques* (1712-1778)—French educationalist, philosopher and writer.—(K 53)

Rozhkov, *N. A.* (1868-1927)—historian and publicist. In the nineties held views close to those of the "legal Marxists"; joined the R.S.D.L.P. early in 1905 and for some time sided with the Bolsheviks. After the defeat of the revolution of 1905-07 became one of the ideologists of the liquidators.—(157)

Rozmirovich, *Y. F.* (*Troyanovskaya*, *GaIina*) (1886-1953)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1904. After the conference at Poronin between the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. and leading Party functionaries (October 6-14, 1913), she was sent to Russia as secretary of the Bolshevik Duma group and of the Bureau of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P.—(247)

Rybkina—see Krupskaya, N. K.

S

Sabashnikov, *M. V.* and *S. V.* (1871-1943 and 1873-1909)—Russian book publishers. The

firm they founded in Moscow in 1890 enjoyed great popularity.—(229)

Saint-Simon, Henri Claude (1760-1825)—French utopian socialist.—(35)

Samaran—see Maslov, P. P.

Sarbatova, V. C. (1820-1890)—nursemaid in the Ulyanov family from 1870.—(39)

Savchenko, A. N.—author of the book *Sravnitelny uchot dokhodnosti v imeniyakh Yugo-Zapadnogo kraya pri boleye tipichnykh sevooborotakh i ekonomicheskikh usloviyakh perekhoda k mnogopolnomu khozyaistvu.*—(34)

Savinov, Pavel Fyodorovich—banished in connection with the case of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle.—(K 24)

Schippel, Max (1859-1928)—German Social-Democrat.—(15)

Schlüter, H.—author of the book *Die Chartistenbewegung.*—(266)

Schönbruner, I.—Moscow gunsmith.—(72)

Schucht, A. A. (1860-1933)—in the early eighties member of Narodnaya Volya, carried on revolutionary work in the tsarist army. Arrested in 1887 and banished to Siberia. On return from exile met Lenin in Samara in the early nineties. Lived abroad. After the October Revolution was a teacher and librarian. Joined the C.P.S.U. in 1917.—(6)

Schucht, Anna (born 1893)—daughter of A. A. Schucht.—(6)

Schwester—see Rosenberg, A. M.

Sechenov, I. M. (1829-1905)—naturalist, materialist, founder of the Russian school of physiology. Professor at the Medico-Surgical Academy in St. Petersburg and later of St. Petersburg and Moscow Universities; honorary member of the Academy.—(149)

Seignobos, Charles (1854-1942)—French bourgeois historian, Sorbonne professor, liberal.—(34)

Semyonov, A. V.—author of *Izucheniye istoricheskikh svedenii a rossiiskoi vneshnei torgovle i promyshlennosti s poloviny XVII-go stoletiya po 1858 god.*—(35, 38, 39)

Shakhov, A. A. (1850-1877)—historian of West-European literature. Lectured at Moscow University and at the Women's Higher Courses in Moscow.—(53, 54)

Shcherbina, F. A. (1849-1936)—Zemstvo statistician, Narodnik.—(39)

Shelgunov, N. V. (1824-1891)—Russian publicist, materialist philosopher, disciple of V. G. Belinsky, A. I. Herzen and N. G. Chernyshevsky.—(4, 16)

Shevchenko, T. G. (1814-1861)—Ukrainian poet, painter, thinker, revolutionary democrat.—(250)

Shklovsky, G. L. (1875-1937)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1898. In 1909 went into exile in Switzerland and was member of the Berne group of Bolsheviks.—(239, 241)

Shlyapnikov, A. G. (1885-1937)—joined the Bolshevik Party in 1901. During the First World War engaged in Party work in Petrograd and abroad; provided communications between the Russian Bureau of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. and the Bureau Abroad.—*29*

S. I., *Sergei Ivanovich*—see Mickiewicz, S. I.

Siberian friends—see Krzhizhanovsky, G. M., Silvin, M. A., Starkov, V. V.

Silvin, *M. A.* (1874-1955)—joined the revolutionary movement in 1891. In 1895 became a member of the leading centre of the League of Struggle. Arrested in 1896 and in 1898 banished to Eastern Siberia for three years. In August 1899 he was one of the 17 Social-Democrats who signed Lenin's "Protest by Russian Social-Democrats" against the *Credo* of the Economists. He was called up for service in the army shortly after this and served in Siberia and later in Riga.—(76, 81, 87, 90, 92, 99, 101, 103, 130, K 15, K 18, K 19, K 23, K 24, K 28)

Sinclair, *Upton* (born 1878)—American writer.—(163)

Sismondi, *Jean Charles Leonard Simonde*, *de* (1773-1842)—Swiss economist and historian.—(38, 40, 41)

Sister—see Tistrova, O. V.

Skitalets (*Petrov*, *S. G.*) (1868-1941)—Russian writer.—(140)

Sklyarenko, *A. P.* (*A. V.*, *Doctor*) (1870-1916)—in the late eighties worked in Narodnik study circles in Samara. Was several times arrested and banished. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. became a Bolshevik. Was one of the leaders of the Saratov organisation of the R.S.D.L.P. In 1910 he worked in St. Petersburg and contributed to the Bolshevik newspapers *Zvezda* and *Pravda*.—*27* (32, 57, 61, 67, 114, 124, 137, 147, 209)

Skvortsov, *P. N.*—statistician, "legal Marxist".—(93, 101, 103, 105, K 21, K 27)

Skvortsov-Stepanov, *I. I.* (*Historian*, "*Writer*", *Stepanov*) (1870-1928)—member of the R.S.D.L.P. from 1896. Marxist writer.—*26*, *60* (178, 179, 182, 189, 191, 196, 197, 203, 208)

S. M.—see Friedmann, S. M.

Smidovich, *S. N.* (1872-1934)—member of the R.S.D.L.P. from 1898. She worked as propagandist in Moscow, Tula, Kiev and Kaluga; was several times arrested and banished. In 1914 began to take an active part in the work of the Moscow Regional Bureau of the C.C., R.S.D.L.P. From 1919 to 1922 headed the women's department of the Moscow Committee of the R.C.P.(B.); from 1922-1924 headed the department of working and peasant women of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.). Elected a member of the Central Control Commission of the C.P.S.U.(B.) at the 14th and 15th Congresses.—(216)

Smirnov, *Y.*—see Gurevich, E. L.

Smith, *Adam* (1723-1790)—English economist, leading representative of the classical bourgeois school of political economy.—(42, K 5)

Soikin, *P. P.* (1862-1932)—Russian publisher, printer.—(K 27)

Sokhanskaya (Kokhanskaya), *N. S.* (1823-1884)—Russian authoress. Her autobiography, written in 1847-48, was published in 1896.—(55)

Stal, *L. N.* (1872-1939)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1905; she conducted revolutionary work

in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Odessa, Nikolayev, and other towns. Went abroad in 1907 and lived in France until 1917.—(K 48)

Stammler, *Rudolf* (1856-1939)—German professor, jurist and philosopher of the neo-Kantian school.—(93)

Stange, *A. G.*—author of *Kak pomoch kustaryam-zamochnikam Pavlovskogo raiona.*—(36)

Starkov, *V. V.* (*Basil*) (1869-1925)—engaged in revolutionary activities from the nineties, was member of a Marxist group of students of the St. Petersburg Institute of Technology. Joined the leading centre of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle in 1895, was arrested in December of that year and in 1897 was banished to Eastern Siberia for three years.—(19, 21, 22, 25, 28, 30, 31, 32, 35, 37, 38, 44, 47, 49, 52, 53, 61, 68, 78, 82, 83. 93, 101, 130), Appendix I (K 7, K 9, K 12, K 14, K 17, K 19, K 31)

Stepanov—see Skvortsov-Stepanov, I. I.

Stoyanov—police inspector at Yeniseisk District.—(40)

Stoyanovsky, *M. V.* (1867-1908)—in 1889 arrested in connection with the case of Sophia Ginsburg, who was accused of being a member of the Narodnaya Volya Party; he was sentenced to death, which was later commuted to 4 years penal servitude, and deprived of all property rights; he was banished to Eastern Siberia for life and lived in Minusinsk.—(32)

Struve, *N. A.* (1874-1943)—wife of P. B. Struve and daughter of the teacher A. Y. Gerd. Left Russia with her husband after the October Revolution—(58, 74)

Struve, *P. B.* (*Writer*, *Editor*, *Écrivain*) (1870-1944)—bourgeois economist and publicist, prominent "legal Marxist", contributor to and editor of the magazines *Novoye Slovo* (1897), *Nachalo* (1899) and *Zhizn* (1900). Later became one of the leaders of the Constitutional-Democrats.—*49*, *51*, *60* (13, 22, 25, 30, 34, 37, 38, 40, 43, 46, 51, 53, 54, 56, 58, 61, 63, 67, 69, 74, 75, 77, 78, 80, 81, 82, 85, 86, 87, 89, 91, 93, 97, 103, 160, K 2, K 7, K 9, K 12)

Sweet, *Henry*—English grammarian, author of a textbook of spoken English.—(144)

T

Talalayev, *V. T.* (born 1871)—took part in the revolutionary movement in the nineties. Arrested in 1897 and in 1898 banished to Eastern Siberia for five years.—(63)

T.-B.—see Tugan-Baranovsky, M. I.

Tillo, *A. E.*—railway engineer, joined Social-Democrats in the eighties.—(1)

Timiryazev, *D. A.* (1837-1903)—statistician, editor of the *Yezhegodnik Ministerstva Finansov* and of *Vestnik Finansov*, *Promyshlennosti i Torgovli*.—(20)

Tistrova, *O. V.* (died in 1913)—sister of Y. V. Krupskaya (Lenin's mother-in-law); schoolteacher, lived in Novocherkassk.—(238)

Tolstoi, Lev (1828-1910)—Russian writer.—(216, 245)

Tonechka—see Rosenberg, A. M.

Torbek, Y. Y.—owner of a Moscow factory producing revolver and shotgun cartridges.—(72)

Treves, Claudio (1868-1933)—one of the reformist leaders of the Italian Socialist Party.—(272)

Trotsky (*Bronstein*), *L. D.* (1879-1940)—joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1897, Menshevik. In the years of reaction and the subsequent revolutionary revival actually adopted a liquidationist position undercover of "non-factionalism". In 1912 organised the anti-Party August bloc. During the First World War maintained a Centrist position. He returned to Russia in 1917, after the February Revolution, and was admitted to the Bolshevik Party at the Sixth Congress. Trotsky, however, did not adopt the Bolshevik position and conducted a covert and overt struggle against Leninism, against Party policy. Held a number of important posts after the October Revolution. Conducted fierce factional fight against the general line of the Party, against Lenin's programme of socialist construction, claimed that it is impossible to build socialism in one country. In 1927 expelled from the Bolshevik Party, in 1929 expelled from the U.S.S.R. for anti-Soviet activities, and in 1932 deprived of Soviet citizenship. While living abroad Trotsky, the arch enemy of Leninism, continued his struggle against the Soviet state and Communist Party and against world communism.—(268)

Trukhovskaya, D. V. (1874-1920)—wife of A. A. Vaneyev; took part in the work of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle, was arrested in 1896 for distributing leaflets and proclamations and sentenced to imprisonment. She followed Vaneyev into exile and served her term of imprisonment (November 18, 1897 to January 18, 1898) in the prison at Yeniseisk.—(35, 44, 99, K 17, K 18)

Tsion, I. F. (1842-1912)—Russian physiologist. Professor of St. Petersburg University and of the Medico-Surgical Academy. Was compelled to leave the Academy in 1875 because his extreme reactionary views brought him into conflict with other members of the faculty and evoked vehement protests from the students. His best known scientific studies concern the blood circulation and nervous system.—(85)

Tugan-Baranovsky, M. I. (1865-1919)—Russian bourgeois economist, prominent "legal Marxist" in the nineties—*51* (18, 37, 64, 67, 69, 75, 80, 90)

Turati, Filippo (1857-1932)—prominent figure in the Italian working-class movement, one of the founders of the Italian Socialist Party and leader of its reformist Right wing.—(272)

Turgenev, I. S. (1818-1883)—Russian writer.—(42, 65, 75, 80, 81)

Tyrkov, A. V. (1859-1924)—joined the Narodnaya Volya Par-

ty in 1879; arrested in 1881 for participation in the attempt on the life of Alexander II, was imprisoned in the Fortress of Peter and Paul and in 1883 banished to Eastern Siberia. In 1904 banishment for life was commuted to banishment for 20 years.—(32)

Tyutchev, *N. S.* (1856-1924)—Narodnik, later Socialist-Revolutionary. Arrested in 1878 and banished to Eastern Siberia. Returned from exile in 1890; later took a leading part in the organisation of the liberal Narodnik party "Narodnoye Pravo" (People's Right). When the organisation was broken up in 1894 he was again arrested and in 1895 was sent to Minusinsk in Eastern Siberia for 8 years; he joined the Socialist- Revolutionary Party in 1904. In 1918 he took up work in the revolutionary history archives in Petrograd; in 1923 became a contributor to the journal *Katorga i Ssylka* (Penal Servitude and Exile)—(32)

Tyutryumova-Abramovich, *P. A.* (1865-1920)—was arrested in St. Petersburg in 1886 and banished to Kazan under police supervision; went abroad in 1887; in 1892 joined Social-Democrats. On her return from abroad she was arrested (1897) and for participation in revolutionary circles abroad sentenced to banishment in Eastern Siberia for five years; in 1905 she returned to European Russia, where she took part in Party work, siding with the Bolsheviks.—(63)

U

Ulyanov, *D. I.* (1874-1943)—Lenin's younger brother (see Note 6)

Ulyanov, *V.*—Lenin, V. I.

Ulyanova, *A. I.* (born 1882)—wife of D. I. Ulyanov; joined the revolutionary movement at the beginning of the century; medical worker.—(144, 145, 147, 150, 155)

Ulyanova, *M. A.* (1835-1916)—Lenin's mother (see Note 1).

Ulyanova, *M. I.* (1878-1937)—Lenin's younger sister (see Note 4).

Ulyanova, *O. I.* (1871-1891)—Lenin's sister (see Note 2).

Ulyanova, *Ulyanova-Lenina*—see Krupskaya, N. K.

Ulyanova Yelizarova, *A. I.* (1864-1935)—Lenin's elder sister (see Note 10).

Ure, *Andrew* (1778-1857)—English chemist, writer and economist; professor of one of the Glasgow colleges.—(71)

Uspensky, *G. I.* (1843-1902)—Russian writer and publicist; revolutionary democrat.—(245)

V

V. A., *V. A-ch*—see Yonov, V. A.

Valentinov, *N.* (*Volsky*, *N. V.*) (1879-1964)—Menshevik, journalist, editor of a number of Menshevik journals. On philosophical issues he favoured a revision of Marxism and defended the subjective idealist views of Mach and Avenarius.—(173, 175)

Vandervelde, *Emile* (1866-1938)—leader of the Belgian Work-

ers' Party, chairman of the International Socialist Bureau of the Second International, extreme opportunist. During the First World War he was a social-chauvinist, becoming a member of the bourgeois government, in which he held a number of ministerial portfolios. Was hostile to the October Revolution and gave active support to the armed intervention against Soviet Russia.—(98)

Vaneyev, *A. A.* (1872-1899)—Social-Democrat. In 1895 played an active part in organising the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, was a propagandist in workers' Social-Democratic study groups and was in charge of the technical preparations for the publication of the newspaper *Rabocheye Delo*. Was arrested at the same time as Lenin in connection with the League of Struggle case and in 1897 was banished to Eastern Siberia. Signed Lenin's "Protest by Russian Social-Democrats" against the *Credo* of the Economists together with sixteen others.—(19, 21, 22, 24, 29, 33, 35, 44, 63, 70, 73, 80, 81, 90, 93, 98, 99, K16, K17)

Vaneyev's wife—see Trukhovskaya, D. V.

Vasilenko, *V. I.* (1873-1938)—author of *Kustarniye promysly selskikh soslovii Poltavskoi gubernii*.—(39)

Vatselis, *I. I.* (1873-1938)—colonel in the old Russian army, took the side of Soviet power after the October Revolution. From September 1918 to July 1919 was Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the R.S.F.S.R.—(268)

Vazhinsky, *F. I.* (1847-1910)—well-known St. Petersburg dentist, honorary member of the first Association of Dentists. He founded the first dentists' school in Russia (it was later named after him) and was the first to place dentistry in Russia on a scientific footing.—(15)

Veretennikov, *A. I.* (born 1857)—Lenin's cousin, teacher of Latin and Greek; lived in Kazan and Simbirsk.—(45)

Veretennikov, *N. I.* (1871-1955)—Lenin's cousin, graduated from Kazan University in 1896 and then taught physics and mathematics in various schools. After the October Revolution he headed one of the departments of the People's Commissariat of Finance. From 1924 to 1928 he worked in the Statistics Department of the C.C., C.P.S.U., and later returned to teaching.—(45)

Veretennikova, *M. I.* (1862-1931)—Lenin's cousin, teacher. She lived in Kazan and Yaransk and in her last years in Moscow.—(166, 167)

Vernadsky, *V. I.* (1863-1945)—naturalist, mineralogist and crystallographer; founder of the sciences of geochemistry and biogeochemistry. Elected to the Academy of Sciences in 1912.—(187)

Vladimirskaya, *L. S.* (born 1883)—member of the Party from 1917, wife of M. F. Vladimirsky. Carried on revolutionary work in Nizhny Novgorod and Moscow. Emigrated to France in 1909 and was a member of

the Bolshevik group in Paris. Returned to Russia in June 1917. During the October Revolution and later, worked in Moscow. In 1919-20 worked at the C.C. of the Party, then for a number of publishing houses and magazines and for Pravda. From 1931 to February 1937 worked at the Comintern and then in the Institute of Marx-Engels-Lenin under the C.C., C.P.S.U.—(218)

Vladimirsky, *M. F.* (Kamsky) (1874-1951)—member of the R.S.D.L.P. from 1895, Bolshevik. Carried on Party work in Moscow, Arzamas, Nizhny Novgorod and abroad. Persecuted by the tsarist government. Took an active part in the 1905 armed insurrection in Moscow. Emigrated in 1906 to France, where he worked in Bolshevik organisations: Held a number of important posts after the October Revolution. Was elected to the C.C., C.P.S.U. at the Seventh Party Congress and at the Fourteenth Party Congress became a member of the Party Central Control Commission. From 1927 to 1951 was Chairman of the Central Auditing Board of the C.P.S.U.(B.).—(209, 218, K41)

Vodovozov, *N. V.* (1870-1896)—publicist, "legal Marxist". Wrote a number of articles on the history of social thought and the working-class movement and in some of them defended Malthusianism. Jointly with his wife, organised the publishing house which in 1899 issued Lenin's *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*.—(38, 63)

Vodovozova, *M. I.* (*Publisher*) (born 1869)—book publisher in St. Petersburg. Her firm helped to spread Marxist literature in Russia in the nineties.—(58, 61, 63, 64, 67, 103, 129, K2, K31)

Vorontsov, *V. P.* (*V. V.*) (1847-1918)—economist and publicist, liberal Narodnik theoretician in the eighties and nineties.—(38, K1)

Vorovsky, *V. V.* (*Orlovsky*) (1871-1923)—publicist and literary critic, prominent in the Bolshevik Party. Began his revolutionary activities in student study circles in 1890. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. became a Bolshevik. In 1905 was co-editor (with Lenin) of the newspapers *Vperyod* and *Proletary*. Headed the Odessa Bolshevik organisation from 1907 to 1912. Was several times arrested and banished for his revolutionary activity. Engaged in leading diplomatic activities after the October Revolution. Was assassinated by a white-guard in Lausanne on May 10, 1923.—*26* (237)

V., *V. I.*, *V. I. U.*, *V. U.*, *V. Ulyanov*, *Vlad. Ulyanov*, *Volodya*, —Lenin, V. I.

V. V., *Vasily Vasilyevich*—see Starkov, V. V.

V. V.—see Vorontsov, V. P.

W

Webb, *Beatrice* (1858-1943)—British writer, prominent in public affairs. Joint author (with her husband) of a number of works on the history of the British working-class movement.—(44, 45, 51, 53,

54, 55, 56, 64, 76, 82, 87, 89, 91, 93, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 103, 160, K5, K14)

Webb, *Sidney* (1859-1947)—British writer, prominent in public affairs, joint author (with his wife) of a number of works on the history and theory of the British working-class movement.—(44, 45, 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 64, 76, 82, 87, 89, 91, 93, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 103, 160, K5, K14)

Wolfe, *M. O.* (1825-1883)—publisher; in 1853 he opened the "universal bookshop" in St. Petersburg and in 1856 set up his own printing works. Shortly before his death the firm became a joint-stock company.—(33, 34, 54, 60, 62, 65)

"*Writer*"—see Skvortsov-Stepanov, I. I.

Writer—see Struve, P. B.

X

X—see Danski, B. G.

Y

Yakovlev, *Y. K.* (born 1870)—joined the revolutionary movement in 1890. Arrested in 1894 and in 1895 sent without trial to Eastern Siberia for five years. Spent his term of exile in Minusinsk.—(32)

Yakubova, *A. A.* (*Kuba*, *Lirochka*) (1870-1917)—joined the Social-Democratic movement in 1893, later became an important figure among the Economists. Was a member of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class.—(51, 52, 73, 80, 81, 96, 114), Appendix I (K1, K2, K4, K5, K8, K17, K19)

Yefimov, *M. D.*—a worker at the Alexandrovsky South Russia Works in Yekaterinoslav (now Dniepropetrovsk); joined the first Social-Democratic group in 1894 and participated in the May Day celebrations in 1895. Arrested at the end of July 1897 for revolutionary activities and banished to Eastern Siberia for three years. While in exile in 1899 was one of those who signed Lenin's "Protest by Russian Social-Democrats" against the Economist *Credo*.—(50)

Yegor—see Martov, L.

Yelizarov, *M. T.* (1863-1919)—professional revolutionary, Bolshevik; husband of Lenin's elder sister Anna (see Note 9).—*28*, *35*, *40*, *56*, *57* (3, 6, 8, 10, 15, 24, 26, 28, 30, 31, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 46, 51, 52, 57, 60, 62, 63, 65, 72, 76, 78, 79, 85, 88, 89, 103, 106, 111, 114, 115, 116, 117, 121, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 135, 136, 137, 140, 142, 143, 147, 150, 151, 155, K3, K4, K9, K19, K27, K28, K31, K33, K36, K40, K41, K43, K45, K47)

Yelizarov, *P. T.* (1854-1920)—brother of M. T. Yelizarov, farmer in the village of Bestuzhevka, Samara Gubernia. Was engaged in farming until 1898; after this he was a grain merchant and rented flour mills in Syzran. Worked on the Syzran municipal council from 1912 to 1917.—(132)

Yelizarova—see Ulyanova-Yelizarova, A. I.

Yergin, *A. A.* (born 1868)—one of the organisers of the un-

derground printing press in St. Petersburg known as the Lahta Press of the Narodnaya Volya group. This press printed a number of proclamations and Lenin's pamphlet *Explanation of the Law on Fines Imposed on Factory Workers*. While working in the Narodnaya Volya organisation Yergin moved towards the Social-Democrats in his views. In December 1895 he was arrested in connection with the case of the St. Petersburg Social-Democrats. When the printing press was destroyed in 1896 he was also arraigned in connection with that and after two years in prison was sentenced to eight years exile in Eastern Siberia.—(63)

Yonov, *V. A.* (*The Chicagoan*) (born 1863)—member of the Narodnaya Volya Party in the late eighties, later a Social-Democrat. Knew Mark Yelizarov and Lenin in Samara. Statistician by profession; he corrected the statistical tables in Lenin's *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*.—(3, 30, 37, 64, 76, 82, 86, 87, 88)

Yudin, *G. V.*—merchant, bibliophile, had a private library of about 80,000 volumes at Krasnoyarsk. In 1907 Yudin sold the greater part of his library in the U.S.A., where it made part of the Library of Congress in Washington —*30* (18, 19, 20)

Yukhotsky, *I. A.*—railway conductor at Novorossiisk port. Arrested in Odessa in 1895 and banished to Eastern Siberia for five years early in 1897.—(38, 52, 53)

Yuly—see Martov, L.

Yuly's sisters—see Zederbaum, L. O. and Zederbaum, N. O.

Yushkevich, *P. S.* (1873-1945)—Social-Democrat, Menshevik; his philosophy was positivist and pragmatist, trends closely connected with Machism. —(175)

Yuzhakov, *S. N.* (1849-1910)—one of the theoreticians of the liberal Narodniks, sociologist and publicist.—(37, 40, 41)

Y. V., *Yel. Vas.*, *Yelizaveta Vasilyevna*—see Krupskaya, Y. V.

Z

Zakrzhevsky, *Y. F.* (1852-1915) —Russian operatic singer. Left the stage in 1907 and taught singing in Kazan.—38 (122)

Zalezhsky, *A. A.*—cousin of Lenin, a doctor.—(4)

Zaporozhets, *P. K.* (1873-1905) —Social-Democrat, active in revolutionary work. Arrested in December 1895, at the same time as Lenin, Krzhizhanovsky and others in connection with the case of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, and banished to Eastern Siberia for five years. Became mentally deranged in prison and was sent to a mental hospital, where he died from consumption.—(28, 35)

Zederbaum (*Kantsel*), *L. O.*—Social-Democrat, L. Martov's sister. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. became a Menshevik. In 1898 was a member of the St. Petersburg Social-Democratic group

Rabocheye Znamya (Workers' Banner).—(35)

Zederbaum, *N. O.*—L. Martov's sister.—(35)

Zederbaum, *O. A.*—L. Martov's father.—(50)

Zheleznov, *V. Y.* (born 1869)—economist, lecturer in political economy at Kiev University and later professor of Moscow Agricultural Institute.—(143, 144)

Ziber, *N. I.* (1844-1888)—Russian economist, publicist; contributed to a number of radical and liberal magazines in the eighties. One of the first popularisers of Marx's economic works in Russia.—(34)

Zina, *Zinaida Pavlovna*—see Nevzorova-Krzhizhanovskaya, Z. P.

Zmeyev, *V. Y.* (born 1873)—worker at the former Goldberg factory in St. Petersburg; member of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. In 1896 moved to Novgorod and took an active part in setting up the League of Struggle printing press in Novgorod; arrested in 1897 and in 1898 banished to Eastern Siberia for five years.—(63)

Zvorykina, *M. V.*—a school friend of Lenin's sister Maria. At one time was the guest of Lenin's mother at Podolsk, —(133)

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СОЧИНЕНИЯ

Том 37

На английскот языке